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FORWARD MISSION STUDY COURSES

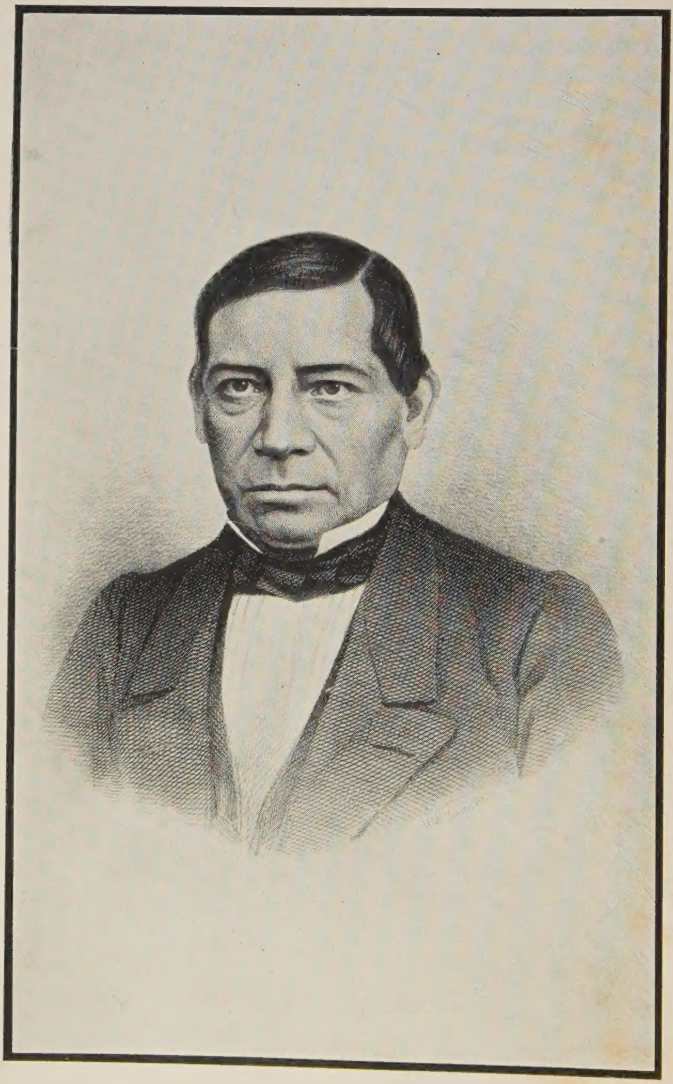
EDITED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE

MISSIONARY EDUCATION MOVEMENT

MEXICO TO-DAY

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

(N. B.—Special helps and denominational missionary literature for this course can be obtained by correspondence with the Secretary of your mission board or society.)



BENITO JUAREZ

MEXICO TO-DAY

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

BY

GEORGE B. WINTON

1913

Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada

NEW YORK

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PREFACE

Mexico and its affairs have of late taken much space in the press dispatches. For about a generation that country has been well policed and has prospered. A general shock of surprise and disappointment has therefore been felt at recent events. Many have been ready to charge the renewal of insurrection and war to racial defects in the Mexican people. A good deal of superficial writing has appeared in the papers,—the remarks of observers ignorant of the country's history and failing in consequence to enter into the deeper currents of its national life.

The Mexican people are engaged in a struggle for freedom. Political independence has been achieved; liberty of conscience is at last realized; a liberal constitution guarantees human rights. But the burden of popular ignorance and of industrial helplessness has not yet been lifted. That load must be taken off. It has grown insufferable. The paroxysms that are now shaking the country to its center are but blind struggles after this liberty. Mexico needs help, especially the

help of her nearest neighbors on the north. To know her condition, to sympathize, to lend a hand in the work of education and in the spread of true religion, is far better than to criticise and to threaten her with armed intervention. This book has been written wholly in the interest of a better understanding between neighbors.

G. B. WINTON.

NASHVILLE, TENN., *May* 20, 1913.

THE COUNTRY AND PEOPLE

The most famous group of mines, historically, is that in the districts of Guanajuato, Zacatecas, and Catorce in the states of Guanajuato, Zacatecas, and San Luis Potosi respectively. These districts, covering an area of some thirteen thousand square miles, are practically within the tropics, for the northern boundary is only 24 degrees and 30 minutes north of the equator. The Veta Madre lode of Guanajuato alone produced $252,000,000 between 1556 and 1803.—*Joseph King Goodrich.*

Now with regard to the character of the people. They are as Oriental in type, in thought, and in habits as the Orientals themselves. It is true they have a veneer of European civilization; but underneath this veneer, on studying the people and becoming better acquainted with them, we find that they are genuine Asiatics. They have some of the fatalism, the same tendency for speculation on the unpractical side of life and religion, the same opposition to the building up of industries, the same traditionalism and respect for the usages of antiquity. The language spoken is the Spanish, which is universally used by the Indian tribes.—*William Wallace.*

Land holdings are concentrated to a greater degree in Mexico to-day than they were in France in 1789. Seven thousand families hold practically all the arable land. If the distribution were proportionately the same as it is in the United States, one million Mexican families would be in possession of titles to landed property. In the state of Morelos, the center of the Zapatist revolt, twelve *hacendados* (proprietors) own nine tenths of the farming property. In Chihuahua, the center of the agrarian revolution in the north, the Terrazas family holds nearly twenty million acres, which comprise nearly all the tillable soil of that state. The greater portion of the state of Yucatan is held by thirty men, kings of sisal hemp. The territory of Quintana Roo, which is double the size of Massachusetts, is divided among eight companies. When I visited Madero on January 27, he unrolled a map of Lower California showing the land gifts of General Diaz. That territory, equal in area to Alabama, had been sold in five vast tracts for about three fifths of a cent an acre.—*John Kenneth Turner.*

CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY AND PEOPLE

A Pleasant Land. Mexico is a picture book for the study of geography. Nowhere can mountain and plain, valley and foothill, river, lake, forest, and field be seen in sharper outline or examined on a more beautiful map of gray and green and gold. Travelers will find that country well worth a visit. The trip is convenient and inexpensive; and it is well to remember—strange as the statement may sound—that it is as pleasant in summer as in winter. "But is not Mexico in the tropics?" To be sure. But most of it is from five to nine thousand feet above sea-level, and an altitude of five thousand feet or over guarantees pleasant summer weather, no matter what the latitude is.

The Mountains. Glance at the map. Down either side of the curving triangle runs a rib of mountains—the Sierra Madre (Mother Range) each is called, one of the east, the other of the west. They are continuations in a rough way of the Rockies and Sierra Ne-

vada. (Nevada means "snow-capped.") These main ranges are mostly quite near the sea—the Gulf of Mexico on the east, the Pacific Ocean on the west. The region between each range and its corresponding coast is everywhere a broken tangle of deep gorges, vast cliffs, terraced foothills, and open valleys, of varying elevations, with here and there a strip of hot, seacoast plain. The descent from the summit of the ranges to sea-level may be anything from six to twelve thousand feet, and as this huge drop of two miles is often made in fifty miles or less of distance, one reason at once appears why so few railways have made their way out to the coast.

Along the Coast. The coastal strips and adjoining foothills have never been thickly inhabited. Along the coast the climate is dry and very hot. On the mountainsides there is more rainfall, and verdure is abundant. But the hills and the gorges are usually so rough as to be almost uninhabitable, and, besides, terrible malarial fevers prevail. A plague of insect pests interferes with agriculture and stock-raising, to say nothing of making life burdensome to the human animal. To these disadvantages of life in the coast region is to be added the singular fact that on

RELIEF MAP OF
MEXICO
SHOWING
PRINCIPAL CITIES
UNITED STATES
GULF OF CALIFORNIA
PACIFIC OCEAN
CULIACAN
SALTILLO
MONTERREY
GULF OF MEXICO
TOLUCA
VERA CRUZ
ACAPULCO
TEHUANTEPEC
CENTRAL AMERICA

the whole huge coast-line of Mexico (about 6,000 miles) on the east and west together, there is scarcely a single good harbor. Vera Cruz has only a roadstead, Tampico but the narrow and tortuous channel of a river. On the west the harbors at Acapulco and Mazatlan are a little better, but the Pacific Ocean is very wide, and there has never been much traffic with the Orient. So it comes about that up to the present the coast cities are insignificant, the coast region sparsely inhabited, and all of Mexico that is worth while is on the great central plateau.

Central Plateau. This plateau is a curving triangle, shaped like the country, highest at its southern apex where the two great ranges draw together and sloping gradually to the valley of the Rio Grande on the north. Monterey is the only city of importance situated outside the plateau. It lies north of a fold in the great range of the east, and is itself about two thousand feet above sea-level.

Climate of Central Region. This outline of topography will account for the surprising statement that Mexico is a good summer resort. The general level of the country between the great ranges, the country which is really Mexico, is more than five thousand feet above sea-level. This guarantees cool, sweet

air even in midsummer. This interior plateau is not a perfectly flat table-land, but is itself broken up into smaller ranges, hills, and plains. Much of it is considerably above the average altitude, and several of the cities —Mexico, Zacatecas, Toluca, and others—are more than seven thousand feet above sea-level. Toluca is nearly nine thousand, and is overshadowed by a snow-capped mountain. Its air is chill and bracing during the hottest months, yet it suffers from no severe cold even in winter.

Tonic Yet Trying Temperature. This absence of winter is one of the marked features of life in Mexico. Over the wide reaches of the plateau it often forms frosts during the winter months, but seldom freezes. Those are months of sunshine; the bright sun each day warms up the air and the earth, while the warm winds that roll up from the tropic seas on either side of the narrow continent keep real winter well at bay. As will be seen, with winters that are so mild and sunny and with summers tempered by cool mountain breezes, high altitudes, and frequent showers, Mexico offers for mere human comfort an almost ideal climate. High altitudes make insidious inroads on the nerves, however, and the sharp changes from heat by day to frost by

night may be disastrous to health if not guarded against. The water supply is usually defective and the sanitation of the cities, most of which are very old, leaves much to be desired.

Lack of Rainfall. This remark about the water brings up the most noteworthy aspect of the Mexican climate, next to the even temperature. Mexico is an arid country. It is so situated with reference to the trade-winds that even along its coasts the rainfall is scant. In the interior it is even lighter. The two mountain ranges, east and west, act as fences against moisture. They comb the clouds out of the breezes that flow up from the ocean and the Gulf. There is, nevertheless, a rainy season—from May to October—throughout the plateau. In some years the rains are sufficient to produce fair crops of corn and beans and barley. These rains are usually more abundant toward the southern end of the plateau. In some of the northern and central sections the rainfall is so light that no crops can be counted on without irrigation. But water for irrigation is itself uncertain, depending on the rainfall. None of the mountain ranges have snow on them. A few volcanic peaks near the junction of the two ranges south of Mexico City reach up

into the region of perpetual snow. The snow-line is, of course, higher there than in northern latitudes. But the long sierras east and west are without the treasures of ice and snow to melt under the summer sun and send down a gush of permanent water when the plains need it most. Recourse is therefore had to dams and reservoirs, which catch the overflow when the summer rains fall and store it up against the drouth of planting time the next spring. Such enterprises are expensive, but as the lands are fertile and the sun warm and constant, the returns are enormous. Wherever there are streams that are at all permanent they are tapped and drawn off into cultivated fields. Many of them thus never make their way out to the sea, and most of them are often dry and desolate looking.

Mexico's Products. The products of the interior of the country are those of the temperate rather than of the tropic zone. Corn, wheat, barley, beans, cotton, peppers, tomatoes, oranges, berries, and similar products are staples. Potatoes, tomatoes, corn, and tobacco are indigenous to the New World. Mexico subsists largely on corn. Before the days of the Europeans its people had learned to soak the grain in limewater, pound it

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WHERE STRAWBERRIES RIPEN EVERY DAY IN THE YEAR

WHERE 100 BANANAS SELL FOR EIGHT CENTS

while damp into dough and bake the cakes of this on hot stones. These little cakes or tortillas are still the staple bread of the country. The Spaniards brought over beans or frijoles. These, boiled in water and afterward, if the family can afford it, fried in lard, supplement the corn cakes. These two ingredients make up nine tenths of the fare of nine tenths of the people of Mexico. If there is no lard in which to fry the beans, they are eaten boiled; if there are no beans, the tortillas are eaten alone—with perhaps a few raw peppercorns to flavor them. The fondness of the people for hot red and green peppers or chillies is well known. With them they season about everything which they cook, often too strongly for unaccustomed palates.

Scenery and Flora. Mexico is a picturesque land. The air is astonishingly clear. Distant objects appear near. The mountains are bare and rugged, their bones sticking out harshly. The country has few forests, and they mostly of small trees. The scantiness of moisture is everywhere apparent. Many of the plains appear to be nothing more than sandy deserts. As for that, much depends on the season. In the time of the rains these plains break out with the green and gold of flowering plants. The stiff yuccas and cac-

tuses which one sees weathering even the dry seasons—the time of year when most people visit Mexico—have more life in them than they seem to have, and all of them are useful. The yuccas produce a valuable fiber, and the flat-leaved cactus a fruit that is highly esteemed. The maguey or century plant is tapped for a sweet juice that ferments into a kind of beer; it is crushed and the juice distilled into a fiery brandy; its leaves make food for cattle; its stalk is preserved and eaten for sweetmeat; a fiber from it makes ropes, cloth, or paper; and in a dozen other homely ways this strange plant is made to minister to the needs of man. It is called, for example, the thread-and-needle plant. The pointed tip of its great leaves may be broken off in such a manner that by pulling on it a long and strong fiber is drawn from the leaf. One has thus in his hand a needle and a thread for such repairs of his clothes as moving through the thorny thickets may have made urgent.

Animal Life. The thickets of short vegetation, on foothills and mountains that at a little distance seem utterly bare, are often surprisingly dense. They furnish hiding-places and browse for wild deer and domestic goats and cattle. Through them swarm

quail and hares and coyotes; hundreds of cactus wrens, fly-catchers, and mocking-birds nest among them, and cheer the lonely reaches with their song. The whole plateau region is largely free of obnoxious insects. The smaller mountain ranges are often crowned with oaks and pines, and with their wide views, bracing air, and tonic nights, free from frost and rain, offer ideal conditions for camping.

Minerals. From the beginning Mexico has been famous for the abundance of the precious metals. These strange, bare-looking mountains often conceal great treasures of silver and gold. The output of silver from the mountains of Mexico has been, and still is, enormous. There are single mines that have been producing for over a hundred years and are still not exhausted. The exports of silver during the Spanish régime have to be counted in ship-loads, and the total is so enormous that it is quite incomprehensible. Gold has been found in many places, and is produced in paying quantities. Quicksilver abounds in some parts of the republic, and is immensely valuable. There are also one or two copper-producing regions, especially in the northwest. But it is for lead and silver that Mexico is best known.

Great smelting plants have been set up in several principal cities—Monterey, Aguascalientes, San Luis Potosi, and elsewhere,—and even in many isolated mining regions. Railways have been driven through the roughest mountain sections to bring out the products of the mines, and the additions from this source to the wealth of the country have been on a grand scale.

Geology. Geologically much of Mexico is of recent formation, and even the ranges that are of ancient rock have most of them been jostled and tilted out of their level by later volcanic action. Much of the limestone has been metamorphosed into marble, of which there are inexhaustible supplies. In many places beautiful and valuable onyx is found. One volcano, Colima, is still active occasionally, and throughout the whole country, in the south and west especially, earthquake shocks are not infrequent.

Other Products. Besides minerals, Mexico exports manila hemp, ixtle[1] fiber, bananas, coffee, tobacco, vanilla, chocolate, and various other articles of commerce. Of staple farm products she scarcely produces enough for her own people, especially in years of

[1] Ixtle or istle fiber comes from several plants growing in Mexico.

light rainfall. The progress of the country has been impeded by the holding of its land in large tracts, much of it unimproved, and the reduction of the small farmer to the category of renter or hired man. Stock-raising is an important part of the rural interests of the country. There are large exportations of hides, and in recent years, of cattle, while the interior traffic in horses, cattle, goats, and sheep is always heavy.

The People. The people of Mexico are, in their way, as picturesque as their country. Something over half of them are of mixed blood, Indian and Spanish. Of the remainder a good deal more than half are pure-blood natives—Indians, we call them, for lack of a better name. The rest are Europeans, mostly Spaniards. For a good while after the coming of the Spaniards (in 1521) a careful distinction was kept up between natives or *indígenas,* the Spaniards, and the mixed bloods or mestizos. There were distinctions even in the grades of these, such as half-breeds, quadroons, octoroons, and other gradations; and the Mexican-born children of Spaniards or creoles (*criollos*) were also distinguished from people born in Europe. In a general way these distinctions were social, and tended to lower the standing of all

others below the level of the Spanish hidalgo, whether soldier, priest, or governor. The rulers in Church and state and the large land and mine owners—often the same people—formed a sort of aristocracy to which the rest of the world looked up. They were usually proud of their Spanish blood and took pains to keep it from intermixture. Spaniards of a lower class, however, mingled freely with the natives. The creoles, already somewhat offcaste because creoles, were even readier to adopt the social level of the people with whom they had associated from childhood.[1]

The Mixing of Races. For three hundred years the process of amalgamation went on. Comparatively speaking, not many women came from old Spain to New Spain, as Mexico was then called. On the other hand, the Indians found in Mexico were sufficiently advanced in agricultural and industrial arts to hold their own in competition. They had social institutions and were of a high order of intelligence. Physically they were not inferior to the Spaniards, not even a great deal darker in complexion than the Andalu-

[1] One result of this came to be a confusion in the minds of many as to the meaning of the word "creole," a word which was often applied to mestizos. Properly it means American-born children of European parents.

sians. The Mexican women especially were petite, modest, attractive. Intermarriage therefore became common. It was indeed inevitable. There were no grave barriers. Social lines were drawn, but for other reasons. The people of mixed blood multiplied. They came to be nearly half of the population. Any attempt to ostracize them as a class was more and more absurd. In 1821, three hundred years after the arrival of the Spaniards, Mexico was freed from Spain. After that there was—theoretically, at least—equal opportunity for all. The old moribund distinctions died at last. Now all are Mexicans, and proud of it. They take about as little interest in the question of how much or little of Spanish blood an individual has as we do in the United States in the question whether a man's grandfather was Scottish, English, or Irish, German, French, or American. A few families keep to the "blue" Spanish blood in their marriages, and privately make some boast of it. But they too are none the less enthusiastic Mexicans. To be a *gachupín* (nickname for Spaniard) is by no means popular in Mexico.

The Native Races. Researches into the history of the Mexican tribes prior to the coming of the Europeans are more interesting

than satisfactory. The tribes that had successively inhabited the Valley of Mexico—Toltec, Aztec, and others,—had developed a fairly intelligible picture-writing. They had invented a process for making excellent paper out of certain fibrous plants, and on this paper, in the hieroglyphics of which they made use, they had many valuable records and memoranda. Unfortunately a perfect mania for destroying everything connected with the priests and worship of the Indians possessed the Spanish conquerors. These Spaniards were mostly illiterate and superstitious men, the priests who were with them being not much better than the soldiers. Since the sacrifice of prisoners before the god of war was one of the desperate resorts that marked the resistance of the Indians to the invaders, the Spanish naturally conceived a great horror for all their religion. They sincerely believed it devil worship. Hence they ruthlessly destroyed the invaluable records laid up in the temples, and so rendered abortive any attempt to trace back the history of the interesting and more than half-civilized peoples whom they were striving to conquer. Within a very few years the folly of this wholesale destructiveness began to be seen. Persons of scholarly

taste did all they could to remedy it. A young Spanish priest, Padre Sahagun, came to Mexico in 1829 as a missionary to the Indians. He was a gentle, amiable man, of humanitarian temper, who soon came to sympathize thoroughly with the people among whom he labored. He had the scholar's instinct for what is valuable and interesting, and set himself to learn the native language. In the course of a few years he produced a valuable lexicon, written in three columns, one giving the Indian, the next the Spanish, and the third the Latin word. It will be recalled that at the time the lexicon was prepared the Spanish language itself had scarcely crystallized into its classical mold, so that Latin had to be resorted to for scholarly definition.

An Early Spanish Scholar. Sahagun passed from the study of the native language to the study of the people themselves and their history. Encouraged for a time by his ecclesiastical superiors, who allowed him leisure and financial help, he surrounded himself with Indian scholars who were able to interpret and to write the picture symbols in use before the Spanish came. These men collected such annals as had been fortunately left over from the universal devastation of

the conquest, and when these were lacking they made new ones. In this way, by the interpretations given by Sahagun and others, something of the story of the Indians may be learned. This good man devoted sixty years to these studies, much of the time in poverty, the object of jealousy and suspicion. His work has been of immense value to students.

The Aztec Kingdom. It was only recently, comparatively speaking, that the records had been kept. The Aztec Kingdom of Montezuma had been built on the ruins of a Toltec civilization that in everything but warlike vigor had been superior to it. Its capital, which we now call Mexico City, was located on a rocky island in a great shallow lake. The place was selected because it was easy to defend. Its location had been designated by the medicine-men of the tribe when they had found there a small eagle sitting on a cactus devouring a snake. This device is now the coat of arms of the Mexican republic. Here the Aztecs, who were a tribe of warriors that had drifted in from the west, soon built up a hostile city over against the capital of the Toltecs, situated across Lake Texcoco, overcame their more civilized neighbors, and by the time of the Spanish

invasion were the dominating force in all that part of Mexico.

Toltecs and Others. The Toltecs, whom they subjugated, had, like themselves, come from the west. The place names which still remain indicate that they came up from the Pacific coast in the neighborhood of San Blas, tarrying more or less in what is now the state of Jalisco, and gradually moving on to the beautiful region about Mexico City, where they seem to have displaced still earlier inhabitants. These remote tribes moved down east and south leaving striking remains in the stone buildings of ruined cities still to be found. These buildings exhibit much skill and taste in stone work, and some of them are covered with inscriptions which have never yet been deciphered.

Early Migrations. How these successive migrations had originally reached the west coast of Mexico is not known. The traditions of the Indians themselves mostly point to a land migration down the coast from the north. It is believed by some that these were the people who left behind them the great cliff dwellings and the remains of an elaborate irrigation system in Arizona and New Mexico. They seem to have been driven out of that region by the inroads of

warlike desert tribes, possibly the Apaches. They were not themselves warlike but agricultural and pacific in their tastes.

Kinship to Japanese. Both the Mexican Indians and the Pueblo tribes, the Mohaves, Zuñi, Navajos, and others of our own southwest, are a small brown type of men, quite different from the tall, copper-colored Americans of the east and north. Many things suggest their kinship with the Japanese. The ocean current which strikes our west coast, flowing almost directly east, might have brought over in some remote past immigrants, willing or unwilling, from the Sunrise Kingdom. But, as the Mexicans are fond of saying, *Quien sabe?* (Who knows?)

People Now Homogeneous. In spite of the fact that the people of Mexico vary thus in their origin they show to-day a marked and homogeneous national type. There are some sharp variations, it is true, among the native Indians—those tribes which, remaining in retired mountain regions, have kept from intermingling with the Europeans. The Tarasco varies from the Huasteco and both from the Aztec or Mixtec. These variations are not radical, however, and result in part from differences in habitat and surroundings. The same physical type prevails gen-

NATIVES OF CHIHUAHUA

erally. The native Mexican is short and sturdy. His face and head are large, his feet and hands small, his palm long and fingers short, his body muscular. He can carry enormous loads, and as a runner in high altitudes is incomparable. His lung power is immense and his endurance a wonder. An Indian will hire himself to a traveler to carry his valise over the mountain trails, the traveler proceeding on horseback. In such a case the Indian with the valise on his back is always more than a match for the horse.

The Indians To-day. These remaining native tribes keep timidly to the wild mountain regions that have not been taken away from them for farming or other purposes. They hold tenaciously to their lands and are jealous of any inroads by "white folks," whether for mining, lumbering, or trade. They have been cheated, tricked, and imposed upon for four hundred years and have reason to be on their guard. Yet no people in the world are more amiable and cordial with those who merit and have won their confidence. Their hospitality is untiring and their good-will unfeigned. They are all nominally converted to the Catholic faith, just as they all yield obedience to the constituted government. There was in fact no

great difference in the way they were brought into subjection to the one and the other.

Capacity of Indians. While at the time of the Spanish conquest some of the tribes exhibited more advance in civilization than others, and while since that time there have been more conspicuous individuals arising from one tribe than from another, it seems a fact that the Indians of practically all the tribes are intelligent and capable of great development. The theory which seems to get lodged in the minds of many, that the civilized Mexicans are all Europeans or of European blood, does not at all square with the facts. Padre Sahagun speaks of the men who were associated with him in reducing the Indian language and history to writing as "very intelligent men," and he deals with them and their work quite as deferentially as though they had shared with him the best culture of the Europe of his day.

Famous Indians. And in spite of the fact that from the very beginning the natives were forced into a position of subjection and inferiority, were denied intellectual training and many civil and social rights, there has never been a period in Mexico's history without its distinguished men of Indian stock—

poets, painters, statesmen, warriors,—who rose by sheer ability against the vast handicap that bore them back, and took their places among the great ones of their country. The famous patriot, constitutionalist, and President, Benito Juarez, probably Mexico's very greatest man, was a full-blood Mixtec Indian, a shepherd boy who did not learn Spanish till he was fourteen years old. Many other illustrious names stand with his on the roll of fame. And in addition the common experience of everyday life has shown over and over again that in essential human worth the native, so long despised, is not a whit inferior to those who by the accident of better arms once subjugated him. Long ago, therefore, it came about that no Mexican is ashamed of Indian blood; rather, he is proud of it. A notion common in the United States, that you compliment a Mexican by calling him a Spaniard, provokes south of the Rio Grande only a broad smile.

The Mestizos. The people of mixed blood, about half of the total population, are the farmers, the artisans, the traders, servants, miners, laborers, and too often loafers, of the villages, farms, cities, and towns of the great central plateau. It is mostly they, rather than the real Indians, who are the

peons of whom we have heard so much. This word, in ordinary usage in Mexico, simply means an unskilled laborer. Its technical meaning is due to certain industrial laws and customs long prevailing in that country, but now, thanks to President Diaz, largely abolished.

Moral Tendencies. No railing accusation is to be brought against a whole nation nor even against a whole class in a nation. It is unfortunately true, nevertheless, that the law that people of mixed blood tend to inherit the vices of both sides of their ancestry, rather than the virtues, has operated in Mexico. Deprived of any fixed social standing, with no certain avenues of development open to them, their wits sharpened by contact with civilizing conditions but lacking the correction of formal education, their religion a matter of form and show, their morbid taste for gambling and dissipating amusements given free rein, it is not surprising that the mestizos of Mexico have often been a turbulent and unruly element in the body politic. They have differed from the Indian largely in being without the pressure of his conservative social and domestic traditions.

A Middle Class. The mestizos or mixed bloods are the typical Mexicans of to-day.

The chances are pretty nearly ten to one that any chance Mexican encountered is a man who is neither all Indian nor all Spaniard. The question of blood matters little to them, and should matter little to us. They are the great body of the people of their country, that should be, and that doubtless soon will be, the great middle class. For a long time Mexico had no middle class: only the rich and the poor—very rich and very poor. To-day is changing that. Freedom, public schools, modern industrialism, better wages, open fields of opportunity, the stirring of a new intellectual awakening, the leaven of the gospel are elements that are swiftly building up a middle class, independent, self-supporting, self-respecting, intelligent, moral. If only the ambitions of politicians would allow the country to remain at peace, in another generation the work could largely be done and the future of Mexico assured. No democratic government can persist unless it rests on a great body of such middle class people. And once such a people comes to feel its strength, no government but a democratic government will be permitted by it.

The Spanish Stock. The pure-blood Spanish stock, in so far as it now forms anything like a class, is confined to the very wealthy fami-

lies. The men of this class are usually educated, cultured, agreeable. They have traveled widely and they exhibit the fine traits bred by an affluent civilization. When they have so chosen they have usually been the governing class in Mexico. Under republican institutions this state of things is rapidly ceasing. The public schools during thirty-five years of peace have already turned out a whole generation of young fellows, many of them representing nothing at all of family prestige, who are taking their places beside the men of the old ruling class and sharply competing with them in leadership. And besides, in these descendants of the hidalgos, three centuries of luxury has bred a good deal of distaste for the moil of politics, and sapped in some measure that physical vitality which is still so ample in the sons of the people. Thus there is in the modern political and social life of Mexico a leveling down as well as a leveling up. And in so far as this concerns privilege and power, none need of course regret it. The day of government by the people, the plain people, the common people, is dawning in all the world.

Spaniard and Indian. The relations between the Spanish conquerors and their successors and the natives of Mexico make an interest-

ing study. At times one smiles at it, more often he grieves. The attitude of mind of the early Spanish colonists comes out in a curious phrase which they employed to distinguish themselves from the natives. They and their children were spoken of as "*gente de razón,*" to distinguish them from the Indians, mere "indígenas." The phrase probably came into use as the equivalent of "educated" or "cultured" people. But it literally means "people of reason," the implication being that the Indians were without reason. Indeed some of the early military governors, who did not like the way the missionaries stood up for the natives, argued against all missionary work among them on the ground that they had no souls. Such objections were once made in our own country against religious work among the Negroes.

A Great Indian. Judge Ignacio Altamirano, one of Mexico's greatest literary leaders, a lover of Shakespeare and fond of English literature generally, died a few years ago in Paris, where he was consul-general for Mexico. He was a full-blood Indian, and thoroughly typical physically,—dark, slight, with a large face and dainty hands and feet. He used to tell with considerable humor how he came to get his start educationally. In the

school of the village where he lived a strict distinction was kept up between Indians and "people of reason," and only the children of the latter were admitted. But in the course of time his father, a sturdy Indian, was elected alcalde or mayor of the town. His mother, who had already prepared for her little boy an *abecedario*—the letters of the alphabet on a shingle—put in a claim at once that since his father was now a public official, Ignacio had become "gente de razón." The teacher of the school was somewhat nonplussed at this new argument, but concluded that it would be wise to decide the matter in the way that would compliment the alcalde. So Ignacio got into the primary school, was recognized as "gente de razón," and amply proved it by becoming, so far as the record shows, the school's one distinguished pupil.

Peonage. In spite of this lordly and sometimes contemptuous attitude, the Spaniard was often a kind master. On the great plantations conditions prevailed almost identical with those in the South of our own country during slavery days. The peons of a hacienda were enslaved in a somewhat worse way than if they had been bought as chattels. Chattel slaves are always well cared for be-

cause they are actual property. Peonage was a kind of industrial slavery in which it was the man's labor that was pawned and not his person. Hence the master, unless he was a man of heart, felt no responsibility for the well-being, physical or moral, of the hands on his place. This manner of life went on, let it not be forgotten, for three hundred years. No wonder that it scored furrows in the social fabric of Mexico so deep that a hundred years of freedom and of industrial improvement have not yet wiped them all out.

Summary. Such is Mexico and such are her people. It is a land of contrasts, of warm valleys lush with orchid and palm and of chill reaches of rocky and pine-clad mountains; of smiling skies and of forbidding desert lands; of rugged, sawlike mountain ranges and wide and shimmering plain; of snow-crowned peaks that look down eighteen thousand feet to tropic seas—a contrast found nowhere else in the world; of careless, boundless wealth beside hopeless penury; of culture, complete and modern, in contact with piteous ignorance. It is a land of long past yesterdays but also of a bright to-morrow. It has one school which was founded a hundred years before Harvard. Its prehistoric re-

mains rival Egypt. Yet it is a playground and a field of exploitation for the restless spirits of the twentieth century. It is the Old World in the New. It is the Egypt of the Occident. It is a land of dreams and of gracious realities. It needs the gospel, it loves the gospel, it must have the gospel. And since it is so near to us, who better than we can be good Samaritans to this wounded and needy neighbor lying beside our way?

POLITICAL EVOLUTION

Looking back over nearly four hundred years, we find it difficult morally to justify the Conquest of Mexico, and yet we must, in fairness, give to the conquerors what little credit is their due. Cortés showed a measure of wisdom and policy at the first encounter with the natives. When he reached Cozumel, he learnt that one of his captains, Pedro de Alvarado, had entered the temples and stripped them of their ornaments and all things of value. Alvarado's violent conduct had so terrified the simple people that they fled into the interior of the island.

Cortés was exceedingly angry, for the act of his subordinate was so contrary to the course he had determined upon. He reprimanded the captain publicly, made a careful explanation to the prisoners whom Alvarado had seized, gave them many presents, and sent them to explain matters to their friends. This humane policy succeeded; the natives returned and amicable relations were established.

Mexican civilization is known to be one of great antiquity. It was, too, of a high order even when the Spaniards first came in touch with it; although there are irrefutable evidences that it had been lowered from the higher plane it had attained in previous times. But of the earliest inhabitants of that country, practically nothing is known. The ruins which are scattered all over the land indicate conclusively, both by their size and by their character, that the work of those who precede by ages the Aztecs of Spanish days, was of an order which connotes high civilization. The unsolvable mystery which surrounds the prehistoric builders of those monuments is, even now, increased by the discovery, from time to time, of strange relics.—*Joseph King Goodrich.*

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL EVOLUTION

Three Periods. The romantic tinge which seems inseparable from all things Mexican throws its haze especially upon the history of the country. That history is divided into three great sections, the Indian or pre-Spanish epoch, the colonial or viceregal period, lasting three centuries, and the period of independence, measuring now practically a century. The Aztec-Toltec days belong rather to the sphere of romance than to that of history; the hundred years of political freedom have been a perfect kaleidoscope of change; and even the long and somnolent days of the viceroys have an atmosphere about them that is strangely fascinating.

1. *Early Indian Period*

Montezuma's Empire. A melancholy interest attaches to the " empire " of Montezuma. It was doubtless a much less complete and formidable matter than some of the Spanish

chroniclers would have us believe. Otherwise it could scarcely have vanished so suddenly and so completely. Yet it evidently was a fairly well-organized government, with a standing army, a system of revenue, and some of the elements of a civil service. Swift runners carried news over the mountains to and from the capital and kept the king in touch with the affairs of his realm. The capital itself was, for its time, a substantially built city and fortress, with its temples, its palaces, and its barracks, much after the manner of well-ordered civilizations.

Government Centers. Besides the Aztec kingdom with Tenochtitlán (now Mexico City) for its capital, there was a center of government in Tlascala and another in the west among the Tarasco Indians. The Spaniards struck boldly at the heads of all these, reduced their chiefs to vassalage, swept their fragile organization into oblivion, substituting the iron rule of the Spanish monarchy, and even obliterated many of their thatched adobe "cities," scattering the inhabitants to mountain fastnesses or gathering them into other centers established by themselves.

Conquest of Mexico. The story of the conquest has been often told. Hernando Cor-

Co-yright by Underwood and Underwood, N. Y.

PREHISTORIC REMAINS

Calendar Stone Discovered 1790

Hall of Mosaics

tez, a Spanish soldier of fortune, effected a landing at Vera Cruz with a small body of troops. Cutting himself loose from superior officers in Cuba and Spain and with a commission granted by the municipality of Vera Cruz, a "city" lately founded by himself, he set out with four hundred infantry, fifteen cavalry and six small cannon, to take toll of the immense wealth which he had heard was stored up in the Aztec kingdom. The driving force of all the Spanish expeditions in the sixteenth century was what the Latin poet calls the *auri sacra fames,* the accursed hunger for gold. The Indians could not understand why the invaders set such store by this metal. For them it was only one of several, useful for some things and rather pretty but of no special value. One of their chiefs once questioned a Spanish soldier about this. The grim old warrior said, "Well, the truth is, all of us Europeans suffer from a secret and deadly disease for which gold is the only known remedy!"

How Victory Came. After heavy fighting in and about Mexico City (then surrounded by the waters of Lake Texcoco) Montezuma, who had fallen largely under the influence of the Spaniards, was killed, probably by his own people, if not by his own kin. His nephew,

the youthful warrior Cuauhtemoc, later became the eleventh and last Aztec emperor. He was a brave and patriotic young man who drove the Spaniards out of the city and made the outcome of the invasion doubtful. But Cortez, reenforced from Vera Cruz and Cuba and taking advantage of the waters of the lake on which he placed several small vessels, completed the work of capturing the city in 1521. Cuauhtemoc was made prisoner, cruelly tormented by having his feet tied over a fire to make him give up fancied treasures, and later put to death. So came to an end the first period of the country's history. Nobody knows how or when it began.

2. *Period of Spain*

Viceregal Period Begins. After a few years of military government, under Cortez and others, a representative of the Spanish crown was sent out as viceroy,—the first one, Antonio de Mendoza, arriving in the fall of 1535. In the two hundred and eighty-six years from that date to the establishment of independence, in 1821, there were sixty-four viceroys—some good, some bad. The term of office was irregular, usually from three to six years. The viceroys had practically un-

limited power, but they were subject to the whim of the Spanish king, who could depose and recall them at will. There was in Spain also a royal council called *El Consejo de las Indias,* and in Mexico an *Audiencia* or royal auditing committee. Both these bodies supervised the administration of the viceroys and served to put a check on any exceptional tyranny or avarice. Nevertheless it seemed to be considered one of the perquisites of the position that the viceroy should enrich himself. He was master of the financial administration of a large and productive province. His salary, eighteen thousand dollars a year at first, was later placed at forty thousand dollars. By farming out the taxation, selling special grants and privileges, and, in spite of constant surveillance, occasionally tampering with the bookkeeping, most of the viceroys managed, even after a brief term, to return rich to Spain.

Days of the Viceroys. There were of course developments in the national life of Mexico during the three centuries of the viceregal period, despite the overpowering monotony of it. Social and industrial relations gradually adjusted themselves, the monastic and other religious organizations flourished immensely, a steady stream of wealth from

mine and farm was poured into the lap of the mother country; cities and haciendas were established and mines opened; social lines were drawn and hardened into traditions; generations were born, flourished, and passed away. Yet through it all there was an astonishing dead level of uneventfulness. And this all went on for three full centuries. It scored some deep lines in the national character. It made the rich richer and the poor poorer. It bred a profound fatalism in the minds of the downtrodden natives. Their helplessness was so manifest and the power of their overlords so absolute that resistance was unthought of and submissiveness became a habit of mind as well as of life. It will be well to keep this in mind when considering the third and most recent great period in Mexico's political development, a period which has not yet reached its final culmination.

Influence of American and French Revolutions. The breaking away of the American colonies from England, followed by the profound upheaval of the French revolution, infused even into the contented and submissive peoples of Spanish America a sense of unrest. The doctrine of the rights of man as against the divine right of kings gradually made its way

throughout the world. In a general way no peoples are readier to be governed than those of Spanish America—for a certain similarity of national type pervades them all. They are inherently docile, and they have had long and rigorous training in obedience. Even yet, after a hundred years of independence, they prefer a government that is stern and unbending. It was not against the king as such, nor against monarchical forms of government only, that they felt impelled to rise up. Religious and industrial conditions had become quite as intolerable as foreign political domination.

A Republic the Ideal. Nothing in the history of Mexico is finer than the stubborn determination with which, against inconceivable odds of discouragement, the people of that country have held on to their shining ideal of a popular government. Twice since getting clear of the Spanish throne they have had to throw down other thrones, set up on their own soil. Over and over their military leaders have arbitrarily set aside constitution and law, and even their properly chosen presidents have again and again transformed themselves into dictators. Constitutional government has repeatedly been interrupted by revolutionary uprisings, putting soldiers

instead of civilians in supreme command. Once foreign troops were sent to bolster up an imperial throne. Three separate constitutions have been promulgated. The education and training of the common people for the exercise of their citizenship have gone forward with excruciating slowness. Yet in all this long and weary struggle, measuring now a full century, the heart of Mexico has beat true to its ideal—a government of the people, for the people, by the people. And the friends of that country are glad to believe that the ideal is nearer its realization now than ever before.

How the Revolution Began. When revolutionary groups began to be formed in Mexico, in the dawning years of the nineteenth century, not a few priests became members of them. To one that had its headquarters in the city of Querétaro belonged Miguel Hidalgo, parish priest of the village of Dolores, state of Guanajuato. Hidalgo had been educated at the Colegio de San Nicolás, in Valladolid (now Morelia), the oldest college in America. He was a progressive and philanthropic man. As parish priest he had been much annoyed by the interference of the government with his efforts to teach his people horticulture. He found the restric-

tions on raising grapes especially vexatious, having already taught his people silk-worm and bee culture, besides establishing an earthenware factory and otherwise advancing their worldly interests while ministering to them in spiritual things. These experiences made him all the more active as an agitator against the government.

The Uprising of 1810. By the autumn of 1810 the plans of the Querétaro group to which Hidalgo belonged had gone to the length of setting a date for an uprising against the Spanish government. But in September one or two members of the band of conspirators, through motives which history does not disclose, gave information to the government of what was going on, together with the names of all concerned.

The Famous Grito. Hearing of this rumor, the priest's loyal friends and supporters in the village were hastily sent for, and in the cool September dawn a group of men, humble laborers and farmers, whose names Mexican history proudly preserves, soon gathered about the *curato* or priest's house. The village prison was forced and the political prisoners set free. It was Sunday morning, and when the parish bell called to mass it rang out a call to liberty which echoes yet.

For, when the people came, they learned what was going on, and the patriot-priest lifted up his ever-memorable "grito" (cry) of "*Viva la Independencia.*" In a few weeks his fellows were dissipated and he a prisoner. Within less than a year he was tried, condemned, and executed. Thus dramatically was launched the movement which, though it seemed soon to be blotted out in blood, never stopped till Mexico was free.

3. *Period of the Republic*

Freedom and Its Responsibilities. For ten years the revolutionary movement thus begun struggled on. At last it was successful more by the inefficiency of the Spanish government, which had been shaken to its center by the Napoleonic intervention, than by any inherent force of its own. The story is too long to follow here, but by 1821, exactly three hundred years after the victory of Cortez, Mexico was once more free from Spain. A so-called empire under Iturbide was set up only to be thrown down by a storm of adverse public sentiment. In 1824 the first constitution, modeled largely upon that of the United States, was proclaimed. That it did not "march" was due chiefly to two

fundamental difficulties: the ignorance and illiteracy of the people, and the persistent hostility of the Catholic Church to popular government. To these one is forced to add a third, namely, the unregulated ambitions of leading soldiers and politicians. During about fifty years, only two or three of over twenty changes of administration were made peaceably and in regular course by the expiration of terms of service. The rest were all more or less violent "revolutions."

Republic of Texas. The one noteworthy incident of that period, breaking the long monotony of rather sordid revolutions and counter-revolutions, was the secession of Texas and the resulting war with the United States. The fertile plains of Texas, then a part of the Mexican state of Coahuila, had attracted many American settlers. The frequent changes in the Mexican government and the lax and often offensively military administration of public affairs, added to race antagonisms which were augmented by mutual ignorance of languages and customs, caused these colonists in Texas to chafe at their subjection to Mexico. In 1835 they organized to assist the Mexican Liberals against Santa Anna, who had proclaimed himself dictator. The dictator himself led

in the attempt to subdue this uprising. After a good deal of stubborn fighting the Mexican troops were defeated and driven out. The Texans then declared their independence, which was recognized by the United States. They organized a republic, and about ten years later the request of that republic to be admitted as a state of the American Union was granted.

War Brought On. This was displeasing to Mexico, since some hope had still been cherished there of reconquering the rebellious province. In the meantime serious disagreement with Mexico had come up in connection with the settlement of American citizens in California. A boundary dispute, inherited along with the State of Texas, added to the irritation, Mexico claiming that the Nueces river was the agreed boundary between that country and Texas, and Texas claiming that it was the Rio Grande. There were American troops in the disputed territory on account of Indian depredations, and a clash between them and the Mexican soldiers was the natural outcome. Thereupon war was formally declared by the American Government (1845).

Result of the Fighting. The American armies rapidly occupied Monterey, Vera Cruz,

and the capital itself. There a treaty was concluded adverse to Mexico in most respects. By it California, New Mexico, and Arizona were added to the territory of the United States.

Another Constitution. The liberal constitution of 1824 had later, in a period of reaction, been abrogated by one more favorable to the conservative interests. But the long ascendancy of Santa Anna, lasting about twenty years, had served to set aside about all pretense of constitutional government. Leading patriots were beginning to plan for a revival of government by the people. The popular general was finally discredited and banished. A constitutional convention was called, and a new constitution framed. It was again modeled largely upon that of the United States. Liberty of worship, the separation of Church and state, and equality before the law were guaranteed. About the same time a vigorous mortmain law, aimed at the immense real estate holdings of the Catholic orders, and a law abolishing special courts for ecclesiastics and soldiers were enacted. The Church saw herself about to lose at a single blow the special legal privileges of her clergy and the great properties that enabled her to defy the popular will.

A War for Reforms. The outcome of the proclamation of the new constitution (February 5, 1857), and of the "Reform Laws" which followed it, was consequently a terrible civil war, between the Church party on the one side and the determined patriot leaders on the other. Benito Juarez, a full-blood Mixtec Indian, was at the time president of the Supreme Court. This was then an elective position, carrying with it the succession to the presidency, there being no Vice President. Ignacio Comonfort was President. His sympathies were with the liberal party, but in the disturbances which arose by reason of the promulgation of the liberal constitution he was gradually drawn into an equivocal position. He tried to harmonize the discordant elements and soon found himself abandoned by both. His position as President became so difficult that he presently gave up the struggle, and, without the formality of resigning, left Mexico for the United States. The Conservatives had "pronounced," adhering to General Zuloaga as President. The Liberals recognized Juarez as succeeding to the vacant post, under the constitution.

The French Intervention. Following this war, which was terminated after lasting

three years by a decisive victory for the Juarez government, came the episode of the French Intervention, as it is commonly described. Certain leaders of the Church party, whose tastes were for monarchy rather than republicanism, succeeded, with the help of Louis Napoleon of France, in persuading Archduke Maximilian of Austria, a younger brother of Emperor Francis Joseph, that the people of Mexico desired him to come and set up there a "Catholic monarchy." He was an intelligent and high-minded young man, happily married to the beautiful princess, Charlotte (Carlotta) of Belgium. He was naturally doubtful and even reluctant in regard to the strange proposal. His brother and his mother dissuaded him. But the French king had in the meantime become embroiled with Mexico over a question concerning certain debts due French creditors by the Mexican government. With no sufficient reason, and disregarding terms of settlement satisfactory to both England and Spain, which governments had had similar claims, Napoleon landed troops in Mexico and began an attempt to humiliate the people and government there. Under the direction of his armies a so-called popular vote in favor of the coming of Maxi-

milian was secured, and by means of this and by the promise on Napoleon's part of French troops to sustain his throne, Maximilian was at last persuaded. What the motive of Napoleon was is not clear, though as he made large loans to Maximilian for the setting up of his throne, it seems fair to suppose that he counted on getting control of the wealth of Mexico, a source of income which he probably overestimated.

Empire or Republic? So at length (June, 1864) the new king and queen came to Mexico in great state. The French troops, aided by the rebellious conservatives, had driven President Juarez and his cabinet from his capital. In the north of the republic, however, defended by the ragged, ill-fed patriot soldiers and sustained by the sturdy adherence of the members of his official family—"los Inmaculados" ("the Spotless") they came to be called—the little Indian President held out stubbornly, perpetuating the duly chosen government of the people. The introduction of a foreign ruler really worked to the strengthening of the patriot party. There were some people in Mexico who were pleased at the idea of having a king, and the capital was very gay. But the heart of the Mexicans at large rebelled at the thought of

a monarchy, especially under a foreign prince.

Another War. The tide of war rolled back and forth. Gradually the resolute patriots evolved an army—an army of seasoned veterans it became. Meantime Napoleon had nearly got into trouble with the United States over his infringement upon the Monroe Doctrine. While the American Civil War had been in progress it had so absorbed the attention of the government at Washington that little notice had been given to the French king's course in Mexico. But after peace had been established at home, pressure began to be brought at once for the retirement of the French soldiers from American soil. By this time, also, Napoleon was apparently glad of a pretext for taking this step. Mexico was not proving the treasure-house which he had anticipated. On the contrary, it was absorbing huge sums of money with but a poor prospect of returning even interest on the outlay. In brutal neglect of his promise to Maximilian the French king withdrew all his troops. The mercenaries which the Prince had provided, together with such Mexican soldiers as would espouse his cause, were all that he had left with which to resist the rising tide of armed pa-

triotism, flowing in upon his infant throne from every side. After not a little vacillation, going once so far as to write out his letter of abdication and start for Vera Cruz, Maximilian at last decided to remain and take his chances with his armies. Carlota had gone to Europe to intercede with Napoleon and had become there—in part by reason of his rough reception of her—a raving maniac.

Unhappy Maximilian. Leaving Mexico City Maximilian joined his generals, who with the principal body of royal troops were in Querétaro. There they made their last stand. The city was taken by the Liberals under General Escobedo, May, 1867, and Maximilian was captured. After a military trial he was executed, along with two Mexican generals who had led his armies, June 19, 1867.

Reconstruction. So came to its close this strange and tragical episode of American history. Within a few weeks, President Juarez, acclaimed by the people, quietly reentered the capital of the nation, and once more set up in due form republican government under the constitution. The proper time for a national election having already passed, one was held as soon as possible, and

Juarez was again chosen President. That term, beginning with 1868, was a rather stormy one. The country was impoverished, brigands were everywhere, there was a large element of dissatisfied royalists among the people, and other ambitious liberal leaders were jealous and suspicious. This dissatisfaction was about to break out into open rebellion after Juarez, as it was alleged, had rather forced his election for another term. But early in that period he died (July 18, 1872), and the coming into the presidency of another, Don Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, the president of the Supreme Court, quieted things down for the time. But when in 1875 he also stood for election and, making rather free use of the federal machinery, was declared winner, the patience of some of the other liberal leaders was exhausted and there were " pronouncements " on every side.

The Coming of Diaz. The most notable of the opponents of Lerdo was a young general who had attained to much prominence because of his prowess in the war with the French. He was a native of the same state with Juarez, and had in his youth read law in the office of that great man. But the logic of events, as well as his own tastes, had made a soldier rather than a lawyer of Porfirio

Diaz. Not quite old enough to participate actively in the conflict with the United States in 1847, he was nevertheless as a boy of seventeen greatly stirred by that episode. Very soon afterward he somehow incurred the hostility of Santa Anna, then dictator, and was driven from his home to begin a career so incredibly adventurous that the plain narrative of it seems like a product of the imagination. A little later, the war over the reform laws broke out, Diaz, of course, espousing the cause of his great countryman, Juarez, then President. This war was barely over when the French invasion made another demand on the patriotism of Mexican soldiers. Diaz plunged into this conflict with burning energy, and by his boldness, his military skill, and his personal daring soon became one of the trusted leaders of the Mexican armies. He was a subordinate commander under General Zaragoza at Puebla on the famous Fifth of May (1862) when the French veterans were for the first time met by the ragged patriots of Mexico and decisively checked. Not quite five years later, April 2, 1867, as general in command he himself captured this same city of Puebla, annihilating one of the armies of Maximilian and bringing the capital of the republic once

more into the power of the republican government.

A Successful Uprising. Diaz felt no such regard for Lerdo as had restrained him in the case of Juarez, and so, in 1875, with the principle of "no reelection" as his motto, he raised the standard of revolt. His old comrades flocked to him. Lerdo, who was not a soldier, was swept from his feet by the sudden uprising and soon abandoned his post and took refuge in the United States. Diaz proclaimed an election and was made President. His first term began with the year 1876. He quickly proved himself as able as a ruler as he had been successful and brilliant as a soldier.

A Long Administration. The administration of President Diaz covered what may be called the modern period of Mexico's history. As an advocate of the principle of no reelection, General Diaz declined to be a candidate at the end of his first term. For the succeeding period, 1880-1884, accordingly, General Manuel Gonzales was made President. The contrast between his administration and that of "Don Porfirio" was so sharp that before his stormy administration came to a close the demand for the return to office of his popular predecessor was general. To this

demand Diaz acceded. In justification of his course it was urged that the "no reelection" declaration bore only on immediate succession, and was meant chiefly to correct the abuse of employing the federal machinery to influence elections. But the four year term, from 1884 to 1888, proved altogether too short for the carrying out of all the beneficent and popular policies inaugurated by President Diaz. The feeling was practically universal at its end that he ought to continue in office.

Diaz Policies. After some hesitation he consented. Four years later the situation was identical, and the doctrine of "no reelection" was finally set aside. Among the most vigorous and outspoken advocates of this were the foreign investors—merchants, manufacturers, railway managers, and others—then resident in Mexico. Even during his first administration, General Diaz had openly bid for the investment in Mexico of foreign capital. To those of his people who were opposed to such a course he argued that the country was so impoverished by its long struggles, and its little remaining capital was held so largely by people opposed to progress and in love with the old, reactionary order of things, that if Mexico's

PORFIRIO DIAZ

vast resources were to be developed and her people made industrially comfortable and independent, it would have to be done largely by foreign money. And he went right forward with his policy, opening wide the doors for capital. Subsidies were given for the building of railway lines—which was a military as well as an economic measure,—exemption from import duties was offered for factory machinery, relief from taxation during specified periods was guaranteed to productive industries, and foreigners were given ample protection for life and property throughout the entire republic.

The President and Foreigners. The President was soon found to be especially sensitive in regard to religious persecution and anti-foreign demonstrations of any kind. He felt that such things compromised the standing of his country in the eyes of the civilized world. He therefore insisted on perfect freedom of worship everywhere and on the proper protection of all foreigners. The mobs which here and there attacked Protestants were promptly and sternly suppressed. It is not amiss to recall this now, since much sentiment against General Diaz was exhibited in the United States and elsewhere, toward the end of his long tenure of power. The sup-

pression of brigandage, the development of industries, especially by the introduction of foreign capital, the improvement of communication, the abolishment of peonage, the standardizing of the currency, the encouragement of education, and the maintenance of liberty and of equality before the law are some of the things for which the administration of Porfirio Diaz should receive credit.

Not Yet a Republic. Nevertheless, many things remained undone. The constitution of 1857 was not formally set aside. It provides for a government similar to that of the states and union of the United States, resting presumably upon an intelligent and competent popular electorate. But where were the voters to be found in Mexico? From sixty to eighty per cent. of the people were illiterate. An even larger proportion had been trained for four hundrd years to let others think and act for them. They knew nothing and cared nothing for public affairs. The state governments were incapable even of policing their respective territories. If allowed to be organized by local influences—elections, so-called, which usually meant the domination of a small coterie of rich landowners or unscrupulous soldiers—they speedily became a menace to the central government or an en-

gine for the oppression of the people. Little by little, therefore, the stern military atmosphere which pervaded the federal administration extended itself to the state governments, and these became gradually no more than departments of the central administration.

Taxation and Land Question. The federal government found itself unable to solve the problems of taxation and land tenure. Efforts were repeatedly made to put a rate of taxation upon the immense holdings of land that would make them unprofitable and thus open them up for settlement by small farmers. But these efforts failed. The federal constitution proved an obstacle here, for it puts matters of taxation into the hands of the state governments, and these were invariably in the hands of the large landowners. Taxation has in consequence continued to be inequitable and the land is still held in huge haciendas, many of them nothing like so well improved as they should be.

Growing Dissatisfaction. Some of the men in the later cabinets of President Diaz, and a number of those acting as state governors under his patronage, have been men of great wealth. They are landholders on a large

scale, and many of them have aroused resentment by their management of the labor problem. In the case of one or two, peonage, in its old barbarous form, has been alleged, along with the charge that they have used the machinery of the federal government—soldiers, railways, and other agencies—for securing and holding the unwilling and unhappy laborers who toil on their immense haciendas. Favoritism was also shown to corporations and enterprises in which these members of the Diaz government or their friends were directly interested.

The People Restless. The very improvement in the economic condition of the laboring classes made the people restless. For centuries they had expected nothing and had been resigned in a dull way to their hard lot. Now at last better things began to seem possible. Wages had risen. Their children had schools to attend. Their wants commenced to multiply. They began to question and to investigate. It seemed to them especially inexplicable that a few men should have a great deal more land than they needed or could improve, while others by the score were at hand, wanting land, ready to till it, but unable to get hold of it. Equally puzzling was the difference which they began to

note between the proportionate burden of taxation borne by the rich and the poor. The poor man was taxed heavily, the rich man lightly. This, as we have seen, was largely a matter of state legislation, not federal; but the people, who knew no ruler except "Don Porfirio," looked to him for everything and blamed him for what went wrong or failed to go right.

Hostility to Church Influence. Another source of irritation, more profound and widespread than any outsider could suspect or discover, because it operated so secretly, was the growing power, during the last decade especially, of the Catholic Church. The leaders of that Church, secular clergy[1] and Jesuits working together, made a special point of keeping in touch with Mrs. Diaz, a devout and sprightly woman, many years younger than her husband. The old General's antagonism to ecclesiastical influence in politics was well known. He knew who had caused the bloody war over the Laws of Reform and who had later brought on the French Intervention with its long list of woes. He had fought his way through both those wars. He understood better than his own countrymen of a

[1] Secular clergy are those not separated from the world by monastic vows or rules; for example, parish priests.

later generation the ambitious designs of the clergy in regard to matters of civil government. When asked on one occasion not many years ago by a company of Protestant missionaries whether the rigid laws as to the holding of real estate by churches would not some time be relaxed, he shook his head. "It would be all well enough as concerns you gentlemen," he replied, "but we have to be thinking of the clergy (*el clero*); we have had experience with them—they are not satisfied to manage their Church; they want to run the government too."

Disregard of Reform Laws. But either because he himself relaxed somewhat in his attitude as old age came on, or taking advantage of him by acting without his knowledge, some who were of his official family began to show great deference to the Church authorities. These, of course, promptly took advantage of it. Convents and monasteries were conducted in defiance of the law, Church schools were subsidized from public funds, public processions were brought out, unmolested by the police, who when taxed with their neglect shrugged their shoulders and hinted of orders from "higher up."

Widespread Uneasiness. The sense of uneasiness which all this inspired can only be

comprehended by one who has entered intimately into the life of the Mexican people, and has come to understand how deeply distrustful they are of Catholic influence in public affairs. The men of the country are a unit in resenting such interference and almost equally unanimous in pronouncing adversely on the moral character and standing of the priests. The sense of apprehension lest through the inattention of an old man whom personally they still loved and admired, the nightmare of ecclesiastical oppression should once more be fastened upon their country, became so acute that they were willing to demand that this same honored and venerable ruler go into exile rather than run the risk.

Madero Revolution. Such were the elements that led up to and entered into the revolution of 1911. It was not in any proper sense a military rebellion. The federal army had dwindled down to a shell—thanks to dishonest officers and the long peace which had made an army superfluous. The insurgents, on the other hand, mustered but a few hundred poorly armed and inexperienced recruits, and not a single battle worthy the name was fought. Diaz was not driven from the presidency and from the country at the point of the bayonet. But finding to his as-

tonishment that popular dissatisfaction with his administration and demand for his retirement were general, in considerable annoyance, but relieved to be rid of the burdens of his office—which had never been for him a sinecure—he resigned the presidency, and, upon the insistence of Madero, who was still afraid of him, left the country.

A Successor to Diaz. It had been evident to any student of Mexico during the Diaz régime, and to none more clearly than to Diaz himself, who knows that country and its people better than any other living man, that the great problem of that administration was the providing of a competent successor. The next president should not be so autocratic as Diaz had been—it would not be necessary. Neither must he go too far in the other direction. The moment the people felt that the central government had a weak hand, brigandage and insurrection would break out everywhere. It was especially doubted whether a civilian would be equal to the situation. On the other hand, no soldier was at hand who was able to work harmoniously with the President. His old companions in arms against the French, of nearly fifty years before, were gone. One or two men of a younger generation were tested, but

proved intractable. The most influential man in the cabinet of Diaz was Mr. Limantour, Secretary of the Treasury. He was solicited more than once to allow his name to be put before the people for the presidency, but knowing too well how thorny a road it would be for a civilian, declined.

Madero's Troubles. The disastrous experience of Mr. Madero supplies melancholy proof of the prudence of Mr. Limantour. Not himself a soldier, Madero failed completely to secure a military establishment capable of inspiring respect. The army of President Diaz had, as we have seen, largely disintegrated. Toward the end of his administration and when the final emergency arose, the venerable President had nominally an establishment totaling some 36,000 soldiers. Of these only about 13,000 could be accounted for. In place of the rest there were only padded rolls. After the sudden overturning of his government there was, of course, mutual distrust between those who had been his soldiers and the man who had been most active in opposing him and who later succeeded him in office. As a consequence of this distrust the old military organization—in the matter of its personnel, at least—practically disappeared. A few

officers continued on the active list, but mostly the subordinates of General Diaz went out with him.

Without an Army. On the other hand there was virtually no army resulting from the insurgent movement under Madero. A considerable collection of volunteers remained, but their officers were mostly without military experience or training, and the campaigns through which they and the men had passed were so largely bloodless that they had not greatly helped to make them soldiers. And allowing all that may be asked for that army as an army, it was lost to Madero by the defection of Orozco. Practically all of the efficient troops followed this popular leader into insurrection against the duly elected head of the republic. This large body of insurgents, who soon overran the northern part of the country, gave encouragement to the dissatisfied groups in the south, especially those under Zapata, and the position of the Madero government at once became precarious. The fact that there were two large areas of the country in rebellion and that the government was powerless to suppress disorder soon filtered through even the remote and mountainous sections where men can always be found who had

rather live by pillage than by work. The result was a widespread outbreak of brigandage.

The Mexican Bandit. Highway robbery has been a persistent phenomenon of Mexican life throughout the entire history of the country. There is doubtless a very small percentage of the population which is predisposed to this manner of life—not more, perhaps, than would be found in other lands. But circumstances have greatly favored the operations of these few. The country itself, by reason of its topography and its peculiar products, offers much encouragement. The wide dry plains and the rugged and almost equally dry mountain fastnesses are the despair of officers of the law, the more so as such officers are usually strangers to the locality, representing the distant central government. Local police regulations have never been developed in Mexico to a state of real efficiency. And as for the products of the country, the wealth of the farming operations is gathered and stored in great haciendas, where robbers, if successful in breaking in, can usually make rich hauls. Then there are the mines. Many of these, because of their remoteness, have to refine their products before transporting them out, and all require the shipment in of much cash for

their payrolls. This precious metal and cash in transport offer a constant temptation to the freebooter.

Calls Out Sympathy. The highwayman is, moreover, the object of widespread sympathy and admiration. He deals out his easy wealth with a lavish hand among the poor peasants who provide him occasional shelter and food. He conciliates even the Church, till he is by it reproved but gently. All this has tended to a sort of easy tolerance of the business and the men who engage in it. Then there is a profound and growing dissatisfaction with their hard lot among the poor of Mexico. So when they see one of their own class break over by force and begin to prey on the rich, who have long preyed on them, they are apt secretly to rejoice in it.

Ever-present Land Question. To this criminal brigandage, which soon became the pest of the Madero government, as it had been of many a previous administration, was added a great volume of genuine discontent, a discontent which sent out many armed peasants to stand against the government for what they conceived to be their rights. The well-founded dissatisfaction of these people arose from Mexico's greatest problem, already mentioned, the land question. All the land

of that country is held by a very few people and nearly all of it in very large bodies. It is estimated that not over seven thousand families own all the land in the entire republic. Some of these holdings are enormous. They are measured in *sitios,* an old Spanish unit of a league square, that is, nine square miles. One man owns enough of these *sitios* to cover practically half of the largest state in Mexico. One may travel for hours on the railway train without crossing the boundary of one of these huge haciendas. And the worst feature of the situation is that so large a proportion of these great holdings remains unimproved. These lands are also taxed at a very low rate, especially the unimproved sections.

Indian Lands. In recent years lumber and mining syndicates, many of them involving foreign capital, have sought, and by various means have obtained, possession of much land which had been community holdings of Indian villages. The Indians have always preferred to retain the system of village communes in existence before the advent of the Spaniards, a preference which the Spanish government wisely respected. These communal lands, lying mostly in the mountains—for the white man long ago crowded

his red brother out of the arable plains—are largely unfit for cultivation, and are kept for common pasturage and a fuel supply. But their wealth of timber, and in some instances of minerals, has not escaped the eye of the prospector and lumber "cruiser." In many cases and in many places the poor Indians have been cheated and exploited. This form of abuse greatly discredited the later years of the Diaz administration. The venerable President himself was doubtless kept in ignorance of what was going on, but men connected with his government trafficked in concessions and bargains, and the power of that government was employed to evict and cow the helpless villagers.

Question of Subdivision. Mr. Madero, in the course of his idealistic discussions of Mexico's situation, often declared that the land belonged to the people and that they ought to have it. After he was triumphantly elected President, the people, in their simple way, expected that lands would immediately be turned over to them. The Indians, especially, counted on the adjustment of all their claims, both just and imaginary. The situation was most unhappy for the new President. In Mexico, as elsewhere, property rights are strongly intrenched behind the

law. The large land holders had no thought of yielding to idealistic considerations and dividing up their property. The same thing was true of the mining and lumber corporations. Madero has been sharply criticized because he at least did not carry out his theories and divide up his own extensive lands. As a younger member of a large and somewhat patriarchal family it was probably not possible for him to do this, and in any event, the final solution of the difficulty is not to be sought in voluntary philanthropy of this kind. Mr. Madero probably never expected his statements of abstract considerations to be taken as promises. It was characteristic of the childlike thinking of the untutored Indians, however, that they should assume that all their troubles would end as soon as they had for President a man who wished to see them ended. When nothing was done to restore their lands, therefore, they became infuriated and broke into wild disorders. The farm laborers on the great estates sympathized with them, and the agitation against the Madero government became general. The President soon lost the popularity that had swept him into office. In connection with the previous revolution, as well as in consequence of the long

period of quiet and public confidence, firearms had come to be more generally owned than ever before in Mexico. Every man who could get hold of a rifle set out to right his own wrongs, and the country was filled with "revolutionists."

The People Not Military. Yet at this very time it proved impossible for President Madero to organize an efficient army. The chief reason was the disinclination of the Mexicans to engage in military service. The President doubled the wages of the common soldier, making them more than those of the common laborer, but the lists did not fill up. Such battalions as he took over from the revolutionary organizations already existing continually proved disloyal, while, as a matter of course, he dared not avail himself of the fragments that remained of the old Diaz army. His situation was really tragic. The night that the insurrection broke out in Mexico City (February 9, 1913), he traveled in an automobile, over a road that had been for some time almost abandoned because of highwaymen, seventy-five miles to Cuernavaca, to bring up personally a small body of only twelve hundred soldiers—state militia, most of them—in whom he had confidence. And after all, in less than ten days from that time

he had been betrayed by his own generals and was a prisoner in his own capital.

Huerta Administration. At the time of this writing (April, 1913) the government of President Huerta is in serious straits because of this same peculiarity of the Mexican. The people of that country are not warlike in their tastes. They do not like military service. It is hard to provide an army. They were dissatisfied with the government of Madero because it did not have a strong hand for robbers and because their troubles about land and taxation were not remedied. They will band together for uprisings, as they are now doing again, but they do not like to settle down to the business of fighting. President Huerta gave the friends of Madero an excellent pretext by his alleged cruelty in permitting or ordering the death of Madero and of Suarez. That was indeed an inexcusable blunder. The fact also that he seized the government by a military coup now weakens his hold upon it. The rebellion against him led by Governor Carranza, of Coahuila, ably seconded by strong leaders in the far northwest and abetted by the intransigent attitude of Zapata in the south, has placed him in a most precarious situation. In addition to his difficulty of

recruiting soldiers at home is the even more serious one of borrowing money abroad. His coffers are empty, and the failure of foreign governments to recognize him as legitimately the head of the Mexican government makes it practically impossible for him to secure a loan in any of the money markets of the world. It seems improbable that he will be able to hold his seat much longer.

RELIGIONS, ANCIENT AND MODERN

A few of the Aztec gods blossomed out as Christian saints soon after the Conquest through the ingenious schemes of the early priests, who adopted this method to make the new religion accepted. They brought with them into the Roman Church the particular characteristics and powers which they were credited with as pagan gods. For example, the goddess of the rains, who was much worshiped in the regions of little rain, may be recognized in Our Lady of the Mists, of the Mexican Church, who is appealed to for the much-needed rain, and is believed to have the same power that the old Aztec or Toltec gods were supposed to have. In many places there are shrines erected to these saints of the Church, and it has been proven that, in most instances, in Aztec times, temples existed on the same spots dedicated to the goddess of the rains or mists. —*Nevin O. Winter.*

A daily paper of Mexico City contained on March 30, 1913, a "story" by one of its reporters, which illustrates the superstition of the poorer people. Following a throng of men and women who were saying to each other, "Have you seen it?" "They say it is wonderful," etc., the reporter found his way to the open court of a cheap tenement-house, which was packed with people. They were chattering and crowding and calling to each other, and those inside seemed to be praying. After much vigorous pushing and elbowing, he at last got past the doorway and into the court itself. The eyes of all were fastened on a large eucalyptus tree growing in the court (a sort of gum tree from Australia which flourishes amazingly in Mexico). On the side of the tree was a white spot which all declared was an apparition of the "Divine Face" (*El Divino Rostro*), that is, the face of Christ wearing the crown of thorns, as usually represented on crucifixes. Many were crossing themselves and muttering prayers.

The reporter took the trouble to look up and interview the owner of the house. He was found in a state of considerable annoyance. "I was making some repairs and had to cut off a large branch of this tree. Now these idiotic people are mobbing the house because they fancy that that white scar is a miracle." The next day he made an end to the "miracle" by tying a cloth around the trunk in such a way as to conceal the scar. The people after that let him and his house alone.

CHAPTER III

RELIGIONS, ANCIENT AND MODERN

1. *Ancient Religions*

Early Religious Ideas. Mexicans may be described in the words of Paul concerning the Athenians as "in all things very religious." In the confused turmoil of tradition and history upon which we must depend for our knowledge of their life before the coming of the Spanish soldiers, the gods, the priests, the temples, and the worship stand out more distinctly than any other phase of life. And this has been characteristic of the people ever since. The Mayas had their peculiar deities, the Toltecs theirs; while the Chichimecs, Aztecs, Tarascos, and the rest were not less liberally provided. In most of the tribes there seem to have been vague intimations of a spiritual creator and supreme god, ideas always overlaid in practise by the attention paid to special gods and goddesses. An equally vague nature-worship, in which the sun and the fertile earth were adored, had its influence among the more strictly

agricultural tribes. The Tarascos had a goddess whom they worshiped with offerings of the produce of their lands. They also looked upon the clouds as divine, and placed offerings to them in the warm springs, which from their vapors they believed to be parents of the clouds. Competent authorities identify their goddess of fertility with the rain. Such a conception might easily arise in a country where the difference between a famine year and one of plenty is a question of a little more or less of rainfall.

Religion of the Toltecs. The deities of the Mayas are found sculptured among the ruins of the ancient cities of Yucatan and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The Maya occupancy of the Valley of Mexico and adjacent regions—if there was such an occupancy—was followed by that of the Toltecs. This was the name later given to a people of uncertain origin from one of their cities, Tollan or Tula. Their huge temple pyramids remain to this day at Cholula, Teotihuacan, and elsewhere. The Chichimecs and Aztecs who came after them doubtless owed much of their civilization, including no little of their religious beliefs, to this earlier people. Quetzalcoatl, the "Fair God," was a Toltec deity, described as hav-

ing blue eyes, fair hair, and a beard. The Toltecs themselves may have been blondes, at least fair skins and hair were not unknown among them. Individuals with light hair and eyes are still found among the Mayas. The Toltecs called one of their gods Teocall, and from that their temples were teocallis. This name, some believe, was applied to the supreme god. At any rate, the word for temple, teocalli, was still in use at the time of the conquest.

Temples and Pyramids. Various writers of that period give us verbal accounts of the teocalli, especially the great one in the city of Mexico. There remain a few rude drawings of it, but no correct plan or picture. The old pyramids of the Toltecs were then already discarded and overgrown with plants. Two of the most remarkable of these may yet be seen at San Juan Teotihuacan, about an hour eastward by train from Mexico City. Until recently they had the appearance of ordinary hills sparsely covered with cactus and thorny shrubs. But a few years ago the government of Mexico had a good deal of work done in exploring and restoring them. One is supposed to have been dedicated to the sun, the other to the moon. Both are immense piles of stone and

adobe, and between and about them was an elaborate system of walks and courts and shrines carefully laid out and much of it paved with cement, of which many traces yet remain. The pyramid of the sun is about the same size at the base as Cheops, the great pyramid of Egypt,—two hundred and thirty-two by two hundred and twenty-four meters, or about seven hundred and sixty by seven hundred and thirty feet. The pyramid of the moon is a little smaller. Both are astronomically adjusted. Even a casual examination of them will impress the visitor that the people who built them set much store by their religion.

Destructiveness of the Conquerors. The industry of the early Spanish priests and governors in destroying all records of the history and religion of the native Mexicans has bequeathed to later students many difficult problems. As much as possible must be made out of architectural remains, sculptures, and the scanty records which escaped the destroying hands of the zealous priests. There were so many successive migrations of peoples, each with religious peculiarities of its own, and the remains of the homes and shrines of these successive tribes are now so heaped one upon the other that, in the ab-

sence of writing, they are extremely hard to make out. Two or three conclusions seem to be pretty well established. First, the teocallis, built of stone or adobe, were the lineal descendants of mounds and pyramids and preserved the pyramidal form. Secondly, there was a great inclination to make use of human sacrifices, the heart of a living victim being thought especially pleasing as an offering to the gods. Thirdly, whatever of spiritual illumination the native religion may have had at an earlier time was largely lost by the time of the invasion. At that time Coaberi, Coaxalcoatl, Huitzilopochtli were the favorite gods, the first a Tarascan deity, the second a Toltec, the third an Aztec or Chichimec. To each of these human sacrifices were offered, to all in practically the same manner. But this kind of offering was thought especially pleasing to the god of war, Huitzilopochtli. In connection with these sacrifices there was a measure of cannibalism, more apparently as a religious rite than because the Mexicans cared for human flesh as food. Their worship was also celebrated with dances, chants, garlands of flowers, and occasionally heavy drinking.

Human Sacrifice an Exception. One of the huge stones on which human beings were sac-

rificed is still preserved in the National Museum of Mexico. The victims were placed face upward on the stone, their heads strained back by a heavy stone yoke placed around the neck, and the chest laid open by a sharp flint or obsidian knife. The heart was torn out warm and palpitating and offered before the bloody and ugly god, and the dead body was thrown over the parapet of the high temple. In spite of this barbarous phase of it, the religion of the Mexicans was not a savage or cruel religion. They argued with the Spaniards that it really made no difference how they killed their enemies, whether on the field of battle or on the altar of their god. This reasoning is not very sound, but the contention was pertinent as applied to the Spaniards, who with their superior arms made vast slaughter of the poor, half-naked Indians.

Crucifix Forms Explained. The figures of the cross found in various ruins of prehistoric Mexico occasioned for a long time much speculation. They seem to be due to two circumstances. A few of them are efforts to reproduce the favorite symbol of the Christians; these, of course, date from the time of the conquest. The others are representations of certain forms of torture employed by the natives. The criminal or prisoner

was staked or bound to a frame or to the ground, with the four limbs extended, and was then slowly executed or, on occasion, allowed to die from exposure.

2. *Early Roman Catholicism*

Missionary Work of the Spaniards. The Spaniards after their arrival gave themselves with tremendous zeal to the "conversion" of the natives. Indeed, the extension of the "Christian" domain was one of the pretexts urged for the conquest. As soon as the mainland of America was discovered there was a scramble to take possession of it. Spain and Portugal were about to come to blows when the Pope of Rome intervened. He ordained that a line should be drawn, north and south, from pole to pole running three hundred and seventy miles west of the Azores islands. The Portuguese were given unlimited sway over all the land discovered east of that line, the Spanish over all west. In the framing of this decree it is needless to say that the people already living in the new world were neither consulted nor considered. Observance of this arbitrary line, which was accepted by both the Christian kings involved in the dispute, gave Brazil to

Portugal and practically all the rest of America to Spain. Of course nobody knew then (1494) how big America was. The Pope, Alexander VI, assumed in this decree to confirm such lands as fell to the Spaniards to Ferdinand and Isabella in every particular and for all time. "The authority was to be unlimited and to cover all things, temporal and spiritual; the bodies and souls, the property and services of the conquered natives were to be their peculiar inheritance, and that of their successors forever." This remarkable title-deed—remarkable especially in that the man who made it had himself no rights in the case—was confirmed to the Spanish monarchs by Alexander's successor, Julius II. By that time the immensity of the domain began to be appreciated. This grant of imaginary rights was taken in all seriousness by the Spanish kings, who exacted a strict account from every adventurer who succeeded in overrunning new territory. In return they undertook to reduce all these new lands to subjection to the Pope. The example of Mohammedanism and the fever of the Crusades had poisoned the minds of Christians. They began to believe that the kingdom of God could be extended by the sword.

Conversion Too Rapid. Priests and missionaries followed or accompanied the armies of conquest in the new world. In Mexico they found an immense field. The country was well populated. In the centers, about the Valley of Mexico, especially, there were immense masses of people. Without accepting the estimates of Cortez and his followers, which are, of course, only the rough guesses of excited men, it is nevertheless quite safe to believe that the empire of Montezuma embraced millions of people, and that in and about the capital city there were hundreds of thousands. Once these people had been vanquished and overawed in battle, by those whom they probably looked upon as superhuman, they were in a mood to accept about anything which the conquerors proposed. One of the things immediately proposed was baptism. The Catholic doctrine of baptismal regeneration was applied by the priests and soldiers of that period in its baldest, most literal meaning. They seem really to have believed that to have the Indians submit to baptism was to convert them. Hence they did not hesitate at rather rough measures to get them to submit. These were usually not necessary, however, for the Mexicans saw nothing objectionable in the cere-

mony. Nothing else was required of them, and the sprinkling was soon over. The priests did prodigies. One is said to have baptized in a single day as many as five thousand "converts," continuing till he was so tired that he could not lift his hands. The authorities of the Church reported that "in a few years after the reduction of the Mexican empire the sacrament of baptism was administered to more than four millions." On this a judicious observer comments: "Proselytes adopted with such inconsiderate haste, and who were neither instructed in the nature of the tenets to which it was supposed they had given assent, nor taught the absurdity of those which they were required to relinquish, retained their veneration for their ancient superstitions in full force."

Superstitions Retained. The testimony of Baron Humboldt, who visited Mexico three hundred years later, proves this: "The introduction of the Romish religion had no other effect upon the Mexicans than to substitute new ceremonies and symbols for the rites of a sanguinary worship. Dogma has not succeeded dogma but only ceremony to ceremony. I have seen them, naked and adorned with tinkling bells, perform savage

dances around the altar while a monk of St. Francis elevated the host."

A Catholic Critic. How persistent were these customs may be seen further in the writings of Abbé Domenech, whose book was published as late as 1867. He had gone to Mexico as chaplain of the French expeditionary forces sent to support Maximilian. After the troops had been recalled, he was required to travel through Mexico and report on its religious and moral condition. The results of that investigation he incorporated in a book, published in Paris (1867), which he called *Le Mexique tel Qu'el Est,* or *Mexico as It Is.* Since Domenech was himself a Catholic, his account of the Catholicism of the Mexicans may be looked upon as reliable. He says: "It would require volumes to relate the Indian superstitions of an idolatrous character which exist to this day. For want of serious instruction you find in the Catholicism of the Indians numerous remains of the old Aztec paganism." In another place he records these observations: "The idolatrous character of Mexican Catholicism is a fact well known to all travelers. The worship of saints and madonnas so absorbs the devotion of the people that little time is left to think about God. Re-

ligious ceremonies are performed with a most lamentable indifference and want of decorum. The Indians go to hear mass with their poultry and vegetables which they are carrying to market. I have had to abandon the Cathedral of Mexico, where I used to go every morning, because I could not collect my thoughts there. The gobble of the turkeys, the crowing of cocks, the barking of dogs, the mewing of cats, the chirping of birds in their nests in the ceiling, and the flea bites rendered meditation impossible to me, unaccustomed to live in such a menagerie. . . . One day I was present at an Indian dance, celebrated in honor of the patron saint of the village. Twenty-four boys and girls were dancing in the church, in the presence of the priest. An Indian, with his face concealed under a mask of an imaginary divinity resembling the devil, with horns and claws, was directing the figures of the dance, which reminded me of that of the redskins. I remarked to the priest, who, for all that, was an excellent priest, that it was very incongruous to permit such a frolic in a church.

"'The old customs,' he replied, 'are respectable; it is well to preserve them, only taking care that they do not degenerate into orgies.'"

An Exchange of Deities. The Indians had indeed merely exchanged their indigenous superstitions for new and foreign ones. The Virgin Mary was promptly identified with Mother Earth (Nana Curáperi), who had long been a favorite deity among an agricultural people. The periodic fiestas of the Church were celebrated with garlands and processions and dances just as the Mexicans had been accustomed to observe the festivals of their own religion. The traveler who chances to be in Mexico City now on December 12, the day sacred to the Virgin of Guadalupe, will see in the village of Guadalupe, a suburb of the city, Indian pilgrims from the neighboring mountains dancing their quaint rounds and chanting their native songs as in the days before the Spanish priests and monks came.

Wholesale Christianizing. The priests who accompanied the soldiers were rough and ready fellows, suited to such associations, not averse to taking up carnal weapons on occasion, and ready enough to accept the idea that religion could be advanced by harsh and even bloody measures. Once the Indians had submitted, the superiority of Spanish arms and organization was such that uprisings were not common. The Mexicans even

then were of a somewhat docile and submissive temper. Hence in a very few years things took on a settled and orderly look. A distinguished ecclesiastic who annotated the reports of Cortez to the Spanish throne leaves this memorandum in regard to one of them: "The conquest took place in 1521, and three years after Cortez, in this dispatch, speaks as if fifty years of wise government had elapsed. I shall ever reverence Cortez, and respect his name as that of a civil, military, and religious hero, unexampled in his career; a subject who bore the freaks of fortune with fortitude and constancy, and a man destined by God to add to the possessions of the Catholic king a new and larger world."

Later Religious Work. The opportunities for religious work under these more settled conditions attracted a better class of missionaries. Men of really devout spirit, some of them of scholarly tastes, others philanthropic and constructive statesmen who stood up for the Indians against their political and industrial oppressors, still others destined to be the founders of great monastic establishments, came from old Spain to New Spain to give their lives to missionary endeavor. Had it not been for

the ineradicable defects of the Roman Catholic presentation of the gospel, a better record would doubtless have been left by some of these good men. As it was, the religious handling of the Indians continued to be closely bound up with the political treatment which they received, and together these produced social conditions which for three hundred years but made the poor poorer and the rich richer.

Growth of the Orders. One of the defects of Catholicism which early wrought evil in the new world was its monastic system. The great religious orders were prompt to get a foothold there. Those were their palmy days. Monks and nuns came over in swarms. They obtained grants from the government of lands and endowments. They exacted of the poor Mexicans a heavy tribute of unpaid labor with which they built immense establishments in the choicest neighborhoods of city and country. As early as 1644[1] the city council of Mexico City forwarded to Philip IV of Spain a formal petition to allow the establishment of no more convents and monasteries in New Spain. The document declares that there were already so many monks and nuns there that

[1] Perez Verdia, *Historia de Mexico*, 218.

they were quite out of proportion to the total population; besides which, there seemed to be great danger that they would get possession of all the property in the country, of which they already owned half. It goes on to request a special order to the bishops that they should ordain no more priests, since there were already more than six thousand who were absolutely without occupation; and that steps should be taken to diminish the number of holidays, of which there were two or three each week, a state of affairs tending greatly to the increase of laziness. This naive petition unhappily received no notice on the part of the court of Spain, a neglect which was afterwards bitterly atoned for by all concerned. The activity of these religious orders resulted finally in a total of one hundred and seventy-nine monasteries and eighty-five nunneries. The Franciscans led, with fifty-two out of the one hundred and seventy-nine; the Dominicans had thirty, and the Augustinians twenty-six.

Gradual Demoralization of Monasticism. The wealth that Mexico during those centuries of vassalage poured into the coffers of Spain was undoubtedly one of the corroding influences that brought Spain low. So in Mexico

itself, the privileged ones did not always really profit by their advantages. The religious orders which at the beginning had been actively missionary and benevolent yielded later to the seductions of "easy money," and as time went by grew sluggish and selfish and corrupt. The individual's vow of poverty was a light yoke when each could partake of the wealth of the community. Other vows which monks and nuns took upon them were equally ineffective in molding their conduct. Shut up in their great and luxurious establishments they became confirmed parasites upon society. So tenaciously did they hold on to their property that two hundred years after the protest of the Mexico City council, when at last Gomez Farias, Miguel Lerdo, Benito Juarez, and other patriots were beginning to agitate the idea of drawing on the Church to help the struggling republic, it was estimated that at least a third of the entire wealth of Mexico was in ecclesiastical hands. Much the greater part was property of the religious orders. So obnoxious had these orders then become that when at last the knot was cut and the property sequestered, the orders themselves were banished. That law, not quite rigidly enforced in later years, is still

on the statute books of the country. It allows no three persons under religious vows to live together in the same house, nor can any distinctive religious garb be worn in the street. All worship must be within doors, no processions or open air exercises being allowed. What the development of religious orders had been to warrant measures so drastic may be guessed from the reaction as voiced in the laws themselves. All over Mexico may still be found fragments of the vast, rambling convents and monasteries. Huge walls of amazing thickness and expensiveness have been cut through by the streets of modern cities. Light has been let in on many a dark secret—on hidden passageways, on skeletons imbedded in the walls, on cisterns full of bones, on a thousand mute witnesses to this long era of luxury, sloth, and vice.

Developments in Catholicism. Along with the development of the religious societies proceeded that of the parishes under the direction of the " secular " clergy. The people, true to their religious inclination, made seemingly devout Catholics. They attended mass industriously, accepted the doctrines of purgatory, hell, absolution, indulgences, miraculous saints, and the rest, literally and

unquestioningly. Not naturally of an aggressive turn of mind they did not miss the intellectual training which was denied them, and cheerfully resigned themselves to that state of ignorance which seems in every land where the system is dominant to be the logical status of Roman Catholic peoples.

Church Leaders and the Government. The leaders of the great monastic orders and the bishops and archbishops of the regular clergy were in frequent collision with one another. The chapels of the monks at times entered into sharp competition with the parish churches. Also the Catholic leaders, secular and monastic, often made things interesting for the Spanish government. Few viceroys escaped conflicts with them more or less vexatious. Not seldom these disputes arose from the protests made by the priests against mistreatment of the Indians. They had their own ways of exploiting the natives, but they did not always remain silent when others oppressed them. One priest of an early period, Las Casas, came to be called "the protector of the Indians," and a portrait of him in this character by a famous Mexican painter is in the Fine Arts Academy, Mexico City.

3. *Modern Roman Catholicism*

Tendencies in Catholicism. Such were the leading elements that made the Catholicism of Mexico what it is to-day; namely, the hasty and imperfect "conversion" of a docile but idolatrous people and the sluggish and inefficient attitude which gradually fastened itself upon the Church leaders. The student of the religious history of that country cannot fail to feel astonishment that conditions which began to be in the sixteenth century projected themselves, with only infinitesimal changes, far into the nineteenth. And the state of affairs described by Baron Von Humboldt a hundred years ago and by Hon. Waddy Thompson[1] and Madame Calderon de la Barca[2] two or three decades later has in many essential features persisted even to the present. The Catholicism of Mexico is much the same as the Catholicism of Spain, of Portugal, and of Italy. In all those countries, as well as in South America, the West Indies, the Philippines, and other countries, that Church has had a similar development and for the same reason: it has been (at least till very recently) uninfluenced by Protestant public sentiment.

[1] *Recollections of Mexico* (1840). [2] *Life in Mexico* (1842).

One result of this has been a close alliance between the Church and the government. This has had many important effects on both. The Roman Catholic Church is perforce intolerant. Theoretically it does not admit religious liberty, and agrees to toleration only when it must. Wherever it has had alliance with the civil power its first demand has been that no other form of worship shall be allowed. This is the secret of the fact that until recently there were no Protestant churches in the countries above mentioned. As a rule, where republican governments have been set up, one of the principles put forth by them has been liberty of conscience and of worship. But even in spite of this the power of custom and the persistence of the Catholic party have often availed to prevent the introduction of missions.

Not Everywhere the Same. It is well to remember that there is a deep and wide difference between the Roman Catholic Church as it is known in the United States and England and the same Church in the countries mentioned above. Theoretically that Church is everywhere the same, but the facts do not bear out the theory. And, without meaning to give offense, one may note that there are tendencies inherent in certain doctrines of

Catholicism which if unchecked by "protest" from without will surely lead to the deplorable conditions now to be found in strictly Catholic countries. Take, for example, the authority conferred on the priests. The results of it are bad for both the priest and the people. As affecting the Christian it tends to relieve him of that sense of individual responsibility which is the motive of all character. If another is able to care for our spiritual welfare here and to furnish us safe conduct hereafter, why should we vex ourselves about the matter? So people reason. Instead of being guided by their own conscience and judgment they only seek to obey the priest. That is a state of affairs which means sooner or later the divorce of morality from religion.

Demoralization of the Priests. On the other hand the outcome of this doctrine is quite as bad for the priest. The sense of his authority and power subtly diffuses itself through all his inner life. It is dangerous for him. He will presently be wishing to direct not only the religious life of his people but all their affairs. He ceases to reason with them because it is easier to command. He no longer teaches; ultimately he stops preaching. Preaching is almost a lost art in the

Catholic Church of Mexico. A sermon is advertised on special occasions as a matter of wide public interest. Holy Week is distinguished from other seasons in that a sermon may be expected at least on Good Friday and on Easter Sunday. Some years ago in one of the mountain villages of the State of Michoacán word was brought to the young man in charge of a Protestant mission church that the parishioners of the Catholic Church wished him to come over and preach for them. They had had a disagreement with their priest—not an unusual matter among those hardy Indians—and he would not preach, and they thought it too bad that Holy Week should pass without a sermon. Of course, it need not be added that Sunday-schools and other forms of Christian teaching are not known where even the sermon is almost extinct. The sermons that are preached on the rare occasions when there is preaching, are usually nothing more than brief lectures on the dangers of "heresy," and like subjects, sometimes becoming tirades in condemnation of the Bible and of Protestants.

Their Contented Ignorance. Unhappy results also in the character and conduct of the priests might naturally be anticipated from

this power and authority vested in them. And here, as in the character and development of the people, the facts bear out the forecast. Deprived of the incentive of teaching others, the priests cease to study. Within a generation or two learning virtually disappears. The ignorance of Mexican priests is astonishing. One of the native ministers of a Protestant Church there told me that he had long made a business of seeking interviews with the priests where his work had taken him, hoping to be of service to them as well as to others, and that he had never found one who had a Bible in Spanish or that even knew how to find his way about in the Bible when looking up texts, many not even knowing in which Testament to find a certain book. Such poverty of mental and spiritual equipment easily leads to slothfulness and the indulgence of low appetites. Habits that are not elevating have written on the faces of many of the padres of Mexico only too plain a record that all who meet them may read.

Effects of Ecclesiastical Autocracy. This doctrine of the authority of the Church has affected the religious and intellectual life of the people of Mexico in many ways, though some of them are slightly less direct than those already mentioned. To be sure, had

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CATHEDRAL, MEXICO CITY

the doctrine been spiritually interpreted, and had it been restrained by an alert public sentiment from leaving the spiritual realm, no great harm might have come. It is not wholly an erroneous doctrine. But this was not done, and those effects of it already traced are but part of the story as it affects Mexico. The uninstructed condition of the people, for example, and the assumption that they are Christians if they receive and practise the Christian rites, have brought in their train a long list of consequences. Superstition is always ready to lay hold of our humanity wherever the religious instincts of men are not otherwise satisfied; and superstition finds its opportunity in ignorance. The worship of saints, which is but another name for the worship of images, has fastened itself firmly upon the Mexican Catholics. In almost any village church may be found pictures of miraculous events that are connected with the name of a local saint. Some shrines are famous throughout a wide region. The patron saint of the Indians, the Virgin of Guadalupe, is the most noted of all, being looked upon as an indígena, a native Mexican. Her image is everywhere and is thought to be unusually "miraculous." The hill below the little chapel where the original

picture, painted on an Indian's coarse blanket, long rested is covered with reminders of how sailors, travelers, soldiers, workmen, women have been helped when they called out of their troubles on "the Holy Mother of Guadalupe." A large stucco sail perched on the side of the hill proclaims afar the gratitude of some who long ago were rescued by her from shipwreck. Crutches, bandages, canes, and the like, accompanied by thousands of crude paintings of rescues and healing, bear their mute testimony to the faith of Mexico in this her favorite saint.

Saints and Images. The thought of the common people is so crude that always "saint" is the equivalent of picture or image. A special image in some shrine or chapel begins to get a reputation as "miraculous," and forthwith pictures of this saint commence to circulate, to be in their turn objects of prayer and veneration. A saint of this kind may prove to be quite a source of income. The petitioners who are especially in earnest, or those who come in gratitude for favors received, usually bring offerings. Occasionally one of these "miraculous" saints is discovered in a private house or in an obscure chapel not connected with the parish church. Unless it can be se-

cured for the church, it is apt soon to incur opposition from the priest, who does not relish seeing others profit by an income that ought to belong to him. Shrewd promoters have been known to make the reputation of a saint by causing it to "grow" or to "sweat" or even to "bleed." Any of these effects is looked upon as direct proof of special powers.

Saints and Their Days. In the homes of the people the pictures and images of the saints, especially of those having local fame or for some reason particularly honored in the family, are kept and reverently venerated. Litanies recited before these saints are in many homes a sort of substitute for family worship. The calendar of the Catholic saints is a very long one, supplying a saint for every day in the year, with a considerable surplus. No matter, therefore, when a baby arrives, he has always a patron saint, usually the one on whose day he is born. Unless there is some good reason to the contrary he receives the name of that saint. The Mexicans consider a given name that cannot be identified with some saint quite shocking, calling it an "animal name." The day of any saint of special importance is usually honored as a holiday, and each individual

must by all means honor his own particular patron by keeping holiday on his birthday or on the day of the saint for whom he is named. Till recently there were so many of these holidays that their observance affected seriously the productiveness of industrial workers. The modern revival of industrialism with the urgent pressure of the "steam age" has tended to cure this evil. But even yet it is often most exasperating to the employer of labor to find his men leaving off work at most inconvenient times on the plea that they must observe a saint's day.

The Household Saint. A certain unconsciously humorous familiarity is at times displayed by the people of remote neighborhoods in their dealings with their household saints. Earnest prayers are made to these images in any domestic crisis, and if all goes well, the saint gets the credit. But if evil is not warded off, if sickness is persistent or fatal, if the donkeys are not recovered when stolen, or the cattle contract disease, then the saint must submit to righteous condemnation. He may have his face turned to the wall or be hanged head downward, or even be shut up in a closet or banished to the attic. He runs the risk of forfeiting entirely the faith of those who have long trusted him.

How desolating to the spiritual life all this is need scarcely be pointed out.

A "Beautiful Christ." Besides copying and circulating the pictures of famous images, the people believe implicitly in material manifestations or apparitions. If a maguey leaf happens to be curiously discolored, in outlines resembling a human face, it will probably be hailed as a miracle. I was walking one day among the barren hills near San Luis Potosi when I fell in with an amiable and talkative countryman. He answered many questions about the country, its products, its plants and birds and game and minerals. Presently as we came to the top of a ridge sown with cactus and stones and marked with an occasional scragged mesquit, my companion said with much animation, "A beautiful Christ once appeared near here." I began to inquire about the details of the apparition, how it was, who had seen the vision, and similar questions. In reply he said, "Come, I will show you the stump." Then I gathered that a mesquit tree (a kind of acacia, closely related to ebony and common in the arid lands of Mexico) had grown with two branches extended like the arms of a cross and on the trunk between some formation that in fancy

might be supposed to resemble the body and face of a man. The tree was accepted as a miracle, cut down, and placed in the village church to be honored along with the other Christs on exhibition there. I saw the *stump*.

A Puzzling Question. "Tell me," I said to my new friend, "how it is you have in Mexico so many Christs. In my country we have heard of One, who is the Son of God. Once he came and was a man. He went away into heaven and we believe lives there now. But he is only one. Here you have many—Christs here, Christs there, Christs everywhere." The man looked puzzled and troubled. He was not used to thinking. At last in that resigned tone so natural to his people he said: "I do not know, sir, how it is. Perhaps it is as you say." Then he brightened up again and said, "But that was a beautiful Christ which appeared here. If you come sometime to our village church I will show it to you."

Is Mexico Christian? This story illustrates another defect of the Christianity of Mexico. It will be remembered that some people object to Protestant missions in Mexico on the ground that it is already a Christian country. But the added defect is a grossly in-

adequate conception of Christ. For the Mexican the Savior of men is only one of a numerous calendar of saints. He is no more important than others, and often not so well known as St. Peter or St. James. Indeed, when some pretense at theological statement is made he is usually represented as a stern and angry Judge, who must be approached through another and can most surely be conciliated by the intercession of his own mother.

Rivalry Between Virgins. The development of Mariolatry has been more pronounced in Mexico than in perhaps any other Roman Catholic country. One of the favorite saints of the Spanish invaders during and immediately following the Conquest was an image of Mary called Nuestra Señora de los Remedios. This particular image was borne as their talisman during the struggles of Cortez and his followers to enter the capital of the Aztec kingdom. Madame de la Barca tells in her usual sprightly manner the story of this Virgin:

The Spanish Virgin. "We went lately to pay a visit to the celebrated 'Virgin de los Remedios,' the Spanish patroness and rival of 'Our Lady of Guadalupe.' This Virgin was brought over from Spain by the army of

Cortez, and on the night of the *Noche Triste* the image disappeared, and nothing further was known of it, until, on the top of a barren mountain, in the heart of a large maguey, it was found. Her restoration was joyfully hailed by the Spaniards. A church was erected on the spot. A priest was appointed to take charge of the miraculous image. Her fame spread abroad. Gifts of immense value were brought to her shrine. A treasurer was appointed to take care of her jewels, a *camarista* (a keeper of robes) to superintend her wardrobe. No wealthy dowager died in peace until she had bequeathed to Our Lady of Remedies her largest diamond or her richest pearl. In seasons of drought she is brought in from her dwelling in the mountain and carried in procession through the streets. The viceroy himself on foot used to lead the holy train. One of the highest rank drives the chariot in which she is seated. In succession she visits the principal convents, and as she is carried through the cloistered precincts the nuns are ranged on their knees in humble adoration. Plentiful rains, it is said, immediately follow her arrival, or pestilences are terminated. . . . It is true that there came a time when the famous curate Hidalgo, the prime mover in

the revolution, having taken as his standard an image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, an increased rivalry arose between her and the Spanish Virgin; and Hidalgo being defeated and forced to fly, the image of the Virgin de los Remedios was conducted to Mexico dressed as a general and invoked as the patroness of Spain. . . .

Shrine of "Our Lady of Remedies." "The church where she is enshrined is handsome, and above the altar is a copy of the original Virgin. After we had remained there a little while we were admitted into the sanctum, where the identical Virgin of Cortez, with a large silver maguey, occupies her splendid shrine. The priest retired and put on his robes, and then returning, and all kneeling before the altar, he recited the Credo. This over, he mounted the steps, and, opening the shrine where the Virgin was incased, knelt down and removed her in his arms. He then presented her to each one of us in succession, every one kissing the hem of her satin robe. She was afterward replaced with the same ceremony.

Ugly Appearing Image. "The image is a wooden doll about a foot high, holding in its arms an infant Jesus, both faces evidently carved with a rude penknife, two holes for

the eyes and another for the mouth. The doll was dressed in blue satin and pearls, with a crown upon her head, and a quantity of hair fastened into the crown. No Indian idol could be much uglier. As she has been a good deal scratched and destroyed in the lapse of ages, C—n observed that he was astonished that they had not tried to restore her a little. To this the padre replied that the attempt had been made by several artists, each one of whom had sickened and died."

The Indian Virgin. The rival to the Spanish Virgin is the Indian Virgin of Guadalupe. The story of this image, painted on the coarse cloth of a shepherd's blanket, was told to Madame de la Barca by the bishop in charge of the cathedral of the little town of Guadalupe as follows:

Story of the Apparition. "In 1531, ten years and four months after the conquest of Mexico, a fortunate Indian, whose name was Juan Diego, passing by the mountain of Tepeyac, a short distance north of Mexico City, the holy Virgin suddenly appeared before him and ordered him to go in her name to the bishop, the Ylustrisimo D. Fr. Juan de Zumárraga, and to make known to him that she desired to have a place of worship

erected in her honor on that spot. The next day the Indian passed by the same place, when again the holy Virgin appeared before him and demanded the result of his commission. Juan Diego replied that in spite of his endeavor he had not been able to obtain an audience with the bishop. 'Return,' said the Virgin, 'and say that it is I, the Virgin Mary, mother of God, who sends thee.' Juan Diego obeyed the divine orders, yet still the bishop would not give him credence, merely desiring him to bring some sign or token of the Virgin's will. He returned with this message on the 12th of December, when, for the third time, he beheld the apparition of the Virgin. She now commanded him to climb to the top of the barren rock of Tepeyac, to gather the roses which he should find there, and to bring them to her. The humble messenger obeyed, though well knowing that on that spot were neither flowers nor any trace of vegetation. Nevertheless, he found the roses, which he gathered and brought to the Virgin Mary, who, throwing them into his *tilma* (blanket), said, 'Return, show these to the bishop, and tell him that these are the credentials of thy mission.' Juan Diego set out for the episcopal residence, and when he found himself

in the presence of the prelate he unfolded his tilma to show him the roses, when there appeared imprinted on it the miraculous image which has existed for more than three centuries."

Virgin of Guadalupe. Such is the account which all devout Catholics are expected to believe. As this Virgin is thought of and spoken of as a native, an "Indita," she is very popular in Mexico. The figure as painted has been traced to an obscure church in Spain, though just how it was brought over to Mexico is not known. The whole fable was a step taken to secure the allegiance of the natives. The adoption of the image as patron of the Mexicans in their war for independence has already been noted.

Unchanging Rome. The awakening influences of the nineteenth century have wrought a few profound changes in the religious situation in Mexico. Some account of these will be given later. But in a general way, the Catholicism which has just been described furnished the religious setting faced by the first evangelical missionaries when they entered Mexico during the latter half of that century. In wealth and in prestige of position the Church had lost

much ground since the days of Madame de la Barca or even of Abbé Domenech. But in the superstition and ignorance of the people and in the absolute unfitness of the clergy for intellectual and spiritual leadership there had been no change at all.

SOCIAL AND MORAL INHERITANCES

The peons of Mexico are weak and ignorant, yes. It is not because they were made so by an all-wise Creator, but because they are serfs. Serfs have always been weak and ignorant, and always will be so. They are not serfs because they are weak and ignorant; they are weak and ignorant because they are serfs. It is the custom to put the blame for the shortcomings of these peons upon the peons themselves. If persons are to be blamed why not blame the *hacendados*, for it is they, and not the peons, who order the lives of the peons?

The blame cannot properly be placed upon either, but upon the system of feudalism, which produces the same results wherever found.—*John Kenneth Turner.*

In view of this terrible degradation of the Christian religion, it is little wonder that the morals of the people have suffered in a corresponding degree. Marriage among a large proportion of the poorer classes is looked upon as a useless formality, an expensive luxury which they can ill afford. This is due to the exorbitant fees which the Church demands under penalty of excommunication; and partly, also, to the openly immoral lives of many of the clergy. Baptism is also very widely neglected because the people are too poor to pay the fee. It is no wonder that the intellectual stimulus which Mexico has recently received, through contact with other nations, has led to a wholesale rebellion against this travesty of the Christian religion. Of those who are responsible for Mexico's great advancement in the past fifty years, the majority have broken with the Roman Church, and are openly hostile to it. The most enlightened ones of the nation, in other words, have renounced the only religion they have ever known.—*Lefford M. A. Haughwout.*

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND MORAL INHERITANCES

Ignorance the Mother of Evil. In all nations moral conditions are intimately bound up with intellectual life. Ignorant men may be good, and educated men bad, but taking whole nations into account, ignorance is the mother of evil. This is not because an illiterate man cannot be a good man, but because ignorance means weakness, and weakness exposes humanity to moral deterioration as well as to many other evils. This is especially true in regard to social life. The community runs more of risk in its morals by living in ignorance than does the individual. Social evils are those that man perpetrates on man—and woman. Professor Ross has distinguished between vice, the wrong a man commits against himself, and sin, the evil that he does to his fellows. Using the words in this sense it is easy to see how sin will abound where men are helpless through ignorance. Their helplessness makes them easy victims, both of designing men and of

adverse conditions. Even vice increases when artificially fomented. The crowding of tenements, for example, has a direct bearing upon the morals of the people who live in the slum districts. It is naturally impossible to parcel out responsibility in matters of this kind. No adverse conditions excuse a man or a people from the struggle for moral excellence, but it is easy to see how conditions often make that struggle heavier and more hopeless than it should be.

Causes of Ignorance in Mexico. In Mexico, intellectual limitations have sent down deep and widespread roots. We have seen how there was a sort of conspiracy of influences to keep the bulk of the people of that land in ignorance. The landowners preferred to deal with an ignorant clientage because such people are easier to exploit. So of the mining interests. The ignorant peon was helpless. He could not combine with his fellows. He could not defend his rights against crooked bookkeeping or unfavorable conditions of labor. He was a "hand" and nothing more. Employers therefore found pretexts for keeping the working people in ignorance.

Church Did Not Befriend Education. Church leaders also gradually reached the attitude

of discouraging the education of the people. They did not really need to know much, so it was argued. Their land smiled with plenty. The climate made small demands in the matter of clothes and houses. Their spiritual advisers assumed full responsibility in regard to their future welfare. The Spanish government was equally paternal in taking entire charge of their present interests. Why then should they "heat their heads," as the Spanish idiom puts it, in a struggle for education, for information, for intellectual growth? There were practically no books, for the *Index Expurgatorius* suppressed them. There were few papers, because the government exercised a severe censorship. There were no public schools—no demand for them, no houses, no teachers, no money provided. The country floated gently down the stream of years in contented ignorance. Eighty per cent. and more of its people were illiterate. There were a few schools for the children of the rich, and the government endowed professional academies and even supplied scholarships for foreign study. The Church had seminaries for its priests and occasional parochial schools of a primitive order for its parishioners' children. The catechism by

rote and something of the "lives of the saints" comprised the curriculum of these schools. They did not, for the most part, rise even to the dignity of primary schools. Neither master nor parents thought it important that the children should learn to read. Of course the children fell in with this kind of public sentiment willingly enough.

Evil Consequences. Many and varied consequences can be traced to this state of contented ignorance. It went on for centuries. The social customs which grew out of it had time to petrify. It is the tendency of custom to grow into law, especially among a people dependent upon tradition and on word of mouth precepts for its intellectual life. Some of the traditions that came to be handed down were far from helpful and elevating when translated into practise. There are conditions in Mexican society yet which shock the observer but which do not shock the Mexicans. They are used to them. They see in them practises sanctioned by custom running back beyond the memory of their fathers. Naturally they reason that what has been done so long can not be much amiss.

Want of Moral Sanctions. Many of these objectionable practises might have been reme-

died had the Church supplied a moral sanction to life. But gradually the religious life of the people, guided wholly by the Roman Catholic Church, came to divorce itself from morals. The demands which Catholicism made could be met without regard to the spiritual and ethical life. They were mostly compliance with rites and ceremonies, implicit obedience to the priest, and a spirit of hearty intolerance for all dissent. None of these have to do with morals. Hence, humanly speaking, a man could be as immoral as he liked and remain a good Catholic.

Industrial Oppression. Let us look for a moment at industrial conditions. One phase of these which has had a wide influence is the peonage system. This is, in brief, a plan by which the employer of laborers secures a control over them not differing in any essential point from actual ownership. At first they were "commended" to him by the Church in a decree which the state felt bound to enforce. If any of these "heathen" workmen got tired of the means used to make a Christian of him and ran away, he was brought back like any other escaped prisoner and turned over to his master to be "converted." After this farce of

"missionary" work had been ended by the decree of Charles V abolishing the *encomiendas,* laws governing the relation of laborers and employer were enacted in Mexico which virtually perpetuated the system of peonage already begun. These enactments were, of course, all favorable to the employer, for they were devised and passed by the wealthy Spaniards and enforced by a government which was under their control. The most telling of them was a law that no laborer could leave the hacienda of his employer so long as he was indebted to it. In case he did go away while in debt, he could be arrested and brought back and made to work out his indebtedness.

Hoary Abuses. These iniquitous laws remained on the statute-books for centuries. The customs bred by them became hoary traditions. The working people were powerless to protest. They had no opportunity of organizing for joint action, and no capacity for it. Even after the coming of independence, congress and the state legislatures were made up almost wholly from the employers' class. So the laws, with slight modifications, held on—in some states they seem even yet to be in force. President Diaz some twenty years ago made a stout

HOMES OF THE POOR

INTERIOR OF HOME OF A WEALTHY GENTLEMAN

attack on the custom of paying in scrip and succeeded in having it abolished by a federal law establishing a uniform national currency and outlawing all substitutes. But the peonage laws, as such, and the exemption of unimproved lands from taxation, are matters with which state legislatures deal. The efforts of the federal government under Diaz to do away with these abuses were only partially successful.

Resulting Poverty. Their helplessness under such laws and customs has inflicted upon the working people of Mexico a degrading state of poverty. In food and clothing and housing, through long usage they have become contented—seemingly, at least—with most intolerable conditions. They eat nothing but boiled beans and corn cakes. They dress through all seasons in thin and cheap cotton. They live in hovels. Wages are now slowly rising and better food and clothes are coming along with the increase. But it wrings the heart to think of the long centuries in which the vast majority of Mexico's people have been subjected to a state of poverty so deep and so utterly hopeless. Their complete subjugation and the utter lack of any outlook for improvement in their condition have given them an air of patient

resignation that is pathetic. It also betokens a state of mind that is disastrous. The effort to establish a stable government in Mexico has been wrecked repeatedly on this great stone of dead inertia, of hopeless indifferènce, of inefficiency bred by ignorance and the want of ideals.

Moral Inheritances. In many ways other than in the industrial and political realm Mexico is still paying toll on her days of oppression. Her moral atmosphere has been tainted by conditions which came of the abnormal social and political situation following the conquest, and of the fact that her religion, instead of remedying abuses, but made them worse. A majority of Mexico's people long were, and are even yet, in a state which may be described as servile. People who virtually belong to others, who must look to others for food and clothes and all that makes life endurable, if not actually for life itself, need the steadying power of a spiritual religion. The man whose soul is free can afford to be indifferent to shackles upon his body. But if people exposed to such material conditions as have been described have also a material religion, one of rites and forms, of images, recited prayers, interceding priests, and meager instruction,

then their religion, instead of consoling and remedying, will but exaggerate their industrial misfortunes.

Ritual No Substitute for Teaching. This is what has happened in Mexico. The people, naturally religious, got whatever of comfort they could out of the teachings of Rome. They rejoiced especially in the worship of the Virgin Mary, believing her to be compassionate. They cajoled and petted, and sometimes punished, the images of favorite saints,—for them the image is the saint,—they rejoiced in musical masses, processions on feast days, and the thousand other ostentatious and showy ways of their Church. But they had from it no moral backing. The priests set them bad examples. Most of the clergy were self-indulgent and corrupt men. Indeed, in twenty-five years I have seldom found a Mexican of intelligence who would admit that *any* of the priests were good men. They advanced a fantastic theory that one might be a bad man without ceasing to be a good priest, and resting on this gave themselves to excesses of every kind.

The Sin of Lying. There are a few sins that are peculiarly the temptation of subject peoples. One of them is lying. Men who are subject to the whim of others come to think

of interest first and truth second. They tell what they think will be best for them. They instinctively adopt a policy of concealment and deceit. In every age and nation, lying is recognized as a vice of slaves. Now the Mexican was not, and is not, technically a slave. But we have seen how politically, industrially, socially, religiously, he was a subject. He was oppressed. He was kept down. He was shackled by every manner of limitation. He came, perforce, to have the servile attitude of mind. Nor would I say that Mexico is a land of liars. Such a statement would be a wrong and an untruth. It is undeniable, however, that truth is not exalted there as it might be. It has long been discounted. Nobody takes offense at being called a liar. It is mere badinage. The word has lost its bitterness. I have heard students say of an incorrect exercise, "This thing is full of lies." A young man said to another in a group as I passed, "Well, you have been about a good deal, but you are as big a liar as ever," at which they all laughed.

The Claims of Politeness. Truth has had to make way for all sorts of things. It is secondary, for example, to politeness. That is measurably the case everywhere. A Mexican will, on principle, tell a lie rather than

seem impolite. It is to him the lesser of two faults. Once a Mexican preacher and I rode into a little town from a horseback trip into the interior. I was going to take the train next morning, he to go on with the horses another day's ride to where he lived. My horse was a hired one, he rode his own. I stopped at a hotel, but he preferred to go to the *mesón* (inn), in order to be near the horses and get an early start. I invited him to have supper with me. After seeing the horses cared for we went over to the hotel. The proprietor welcomed us effusively. After I had arranged for supper and a room he rubbed his hands together and said "I have also stables for your horses, gentlemen, if you need them." I had no reply to make, thinking it was none of his business what we did with our horses. Not so my Mexican brother, who at once spoke up and said, "Oh, we just had some borrowed horses and have been to return them to their owners!" I was dumfounded. But I could not think of anything to say that offered any prospect of accomplishing good, so I said nothing.

Use of Words. The unreliability of the working classes of Mexico is proverbial. If asked a question, they look sharply to see if they can make out the answer you prefer,

and then reply accordingly. They do not like to confess ignorance, and have a trying habit of saying, "*Sí, señor,*" to all questions for which yes or no may serve as an answer. Their promises are utterly futile, both because of their want of a sense of the value of truth and of their lack of any understanding of time. "To-morrow" means any future time. They will not refuse even a beggar outright, but will ask him to return "to-morrow." A carpenter came once to see me about some work which I was anxious to have done, but as it was Sunday when he came I explained my objection to doing business that day and asked him to come back "to-morrow." The word was fatal. He thought I was dismissing him, and never returned. The dilatory and incompetent ways of the working people are constantly covered up by fabrications. If you ask a man about a task which you have not seen he will usually claim to have done all he thinks you expect him to have done.

Business Men Reliable. Though this disregard of truth has largely pervaded society, it has not, strange to say, greatly affected the honor and reliability of business firms. Manufacturers and wholesale dealers agree that there are no more reliable business men

to be found than the established firms of Mexico. They are often exasperatingly slow, and consider an extension of credit on their orders for two or three years nothing unreasonable. Their own rule of business is the opposite of that commonly adopted in the United States. Their motto seems to be slow sales and big profits. This suits them and apparently suits their customers also. It is a wise manufacturer who adjusts himself to it and establishes and maintains confidential relations with such firms. They are almost always solid financially, they have a rich field, and they do business largely on the basis of personal relations and acquaintanceship.

Sin of Stealing. This digression naturally brings me to consider that failing which is so close akin to lying, namely, stealing. Concerning this we may say as of lying: "Mexico is not a land of thieves, yet pilfering is far too common there and is looked upon with much more of tolerance than it ought to be." Stealing is like lying in being a sort of natural outgrowth of servility. Slaves, whether industrial or chattel, are always poor. They are without the incentive of self-respect. They are apt even to reason that they have certain rights to the belong-

ings of their masters, since they too are property. The old darky defended stealing from his master on the ground that it was his master's property that was benefited. He was slow to drive the hogs out of the cornfield because it was both "massa's cohn and massa's hogs."

Skilful Pilfering. It is useless to deny that in this respect, too, the laboring people of Mexico still show traces of their long apprenticeship in servility. They have an inveterate weakness for picking up loose objects, whether needful to them or not. As for that, they are so poor that they can make some use of almost anything, and, in the cities, especially, can either sell or pawn any object whatever for some amount. In Mexico City there was long maintained a "thieves' market"—a sort of clearing-house of all kinds of objects of small value. To it property owners went to recover knives, hatchets, hammers, shoes, keys, hats, chains, locks, umbrellas, and various other small objects that had walked off. It was tolerated by a sort of agreement on the part of both citizens and police that it was simpler and better to buy back such things than to try to identify and punish the thieves. When I first went to Mexico (1884) there

was great scarcity in that country of iron and steel. None of the country's own resources for this material had been properly developed and an almost prohibitive tariff kept out foreign supplies or forced them up to enormous prices. Now the desire of every Mexican's heart is to have a good machete or puntilla to carry. The machete is a short sword or long knife, something like a corn-cutter knife. The puntilla is a dagger, long or short, wide or slender, heavy or keen, as the case may be, but always sharpened ready for use. Their smiths are skilful in the making and tempering of these highly valued tools, and will make them out of almost any bit of good iron or of steel that can be laid hands on. I recall a machete which was most highly valued by one of my old friends—he had carried it for nearly fifty years—which had been made out of a blacksmith's rasp. Some of the corrugations could be traced on the side of it still. This pressing demand for steel resulted in a frequency and variety of pilfering which greatly interested and often amused me. The railroads were the greatest sufferers. The tools used on track work had to be constantly watched. The flowing blanket, which is an essential part of a Mexican's dress, can

easily be thrown around any object of moderate size. An engineer in charge of some track construction told me that on a certain occasion he noticed one of a group of idlers who had been talking with his men moving off rather stiffly. He stepped up and was greatly interested to find that, by some gymnastic feat which he does not yet understand, the man had thrust down the *inside* of his loose cotton trousers-leg a crowbar about five feet long and weighing something like twenty pounds, and was making off with his treasure. Every detachable bit of metal about the tracks was liable to disappear—switch bars, levers, rods, fish-plates, and even the spikes which hold down the rails. Indeed the stealing of spikes became so common, and so many disastrous train wrecks occurred in consequence, that a drastic law was passed by which this was made a capital offense.

Position of Woman. Another of Mexico's unhappy inheritances has been the degradation of her womanhood. The union of Spaniard and Mexican was usually by the marriage of a native woman to a Spanish husband. It can be readily seen how favorable the conditions were for the domineering of husband over wife. The Indian, after the

manner of primitive peoples, accepted the degradation of the squaw as a matter of course. The Spanish *conquistadores* were not likely to take a better view of their native wives than the native husbands were accustomed to. Inferiority of every kind was thus thrust upon the women of a whole nation and meekly accepted by them. And the nation has not recovered from the effects to this day.

Degradation of Ignorance. It is especially true that intellectual inferiority—accepted as such even if not actual—soon brings in its train moral degradation. When men look upon their wives as their inferiors they are not likely to be true to them. Wives will not be, in the long run, better than their husbands. In all frankness it must be said that the system of espionage inculcated by the Catholic manner of education does not tend to increase but rather to diminish the sanctity of womanhood. A celibate priesthood and the auricular confession have also contributed their part—not a small one—to weaken the true sanctions of virtue among the women.

Conditions as to Marriage. That all these influences have robbed the womanhood of Mexico of womanly virtue is not, of course,

wholly true. Yet laxness of standards is commoner in that country than it should be. The men of the better class disregard social conventions most openly, and among the ignorant and poor there is much neglect of marriage. At this point should be entered another count in the charge against the Romish Church, namely, that its priests are accustomed to charge prohibitive prices for celebrating marriages, while at the same time teaching the people that civil marriage is sinful and the ceremony void. To get the blessing of the Church on his wedding costs a working man a sum of money—required in advance—which is essentially prohibitive. He simply cannot save that much. The result has been and still is that thousands of couples live together for years without being married and hundreds of thousands of children are born out of wedlock. It often happens that before converts can be received into a Protestant Church they have to be married, though at the time they may have well grown and numerous children.

The Degradation of Womanhood. The direct tendency of such a state of things is the degradation of womanhood. When the sanctions of law and of conscience fail because both human and divine laws are set

STREET GAMBLING

GROUP OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN

aside, then public respect soon follows. Society does not take lightly the disregarding of its conventions and rules. Many other consequences follow in the train of such disregard. The worst of all is woman's loss of respect for herself. The regard of society at large, the respect of the public, the respect and esteem even of her own husband, she can better dispense with than with her own self-esteem. When that is gone, all is gone.

The Mexican Woman. The conditions which I have been describing obtain, of course, chiefly among the poorer classes. But it is these classes which make up the preponderating element in the population of Mexico. As modern educational methods spread, the people are rising in the scale of intelligence and influence. It is of the utmost importance that they rise also in the scale of morals. Otherwise the future population of Mexico will be poisoned in its very fountainhead. Nothing but the uplifting and stimulating influence of genuine Christian education can furnish an antidote to the evil already injected into the life of the people. And the womanhood of that land—amiable, domestic, warm-hearted, vivacious, patient, industrious—the womanhood of Mexico,

which has suffered so many wrongs, borne them so nobly, achieved already so fair a fame, will be the first and greatest gainer in the coming intellectual and moral rebirth of their country.

Convent Ideal in Education. The training of the women among the more favored elements in Mexican society has been lightly touched upon. The convent idea of purity and holiness—a purity which can only be guaranteed by vows and an impassable wall—does little to strengthen the moral fiber of girls. Schoolgirls under the convent system are constantly watched. They infer, by the very force of circumstances, that they are kept from sin only by influences outside themselves. The effect of all this on their standards of thinking cannot be happy. In their homes, as daughters and wives, they are treated with the same open want of confidence. No young woman sees gentlemen friends alone. Courting must be done surreptitiously through iron-barred windows. The bars over the windows in Mexican homes are designed quite as much to keep women in as to keep burglars out. The whole system is ridiculous, of course, and is rapidly yielding to enlightened public sentiment. But it has done its part in working

disaster in not a few directions to Mexican society of yesterday and to-day.

Domestic Drudges. One thing more I must mention before dismissing this subject of the social status of Mexico's women. Those of the poorer classes are slaves to a most cumbersome form of housework. Mention has been made of the corn cakes or tortillas which are the staple food of the people of this class. The grinding of the corn for these cakes is a never-ending task for the women. The grains of Indian corn are soaked in weak lye or a solution of lime till the husk dissolves. They are then while still moist put into the mill. This is not the round mill of Palestine, of which two women together turn the upper stone. The upper stone of the Mexican mill does not turn. It is a short stone, the size of a man's arm, called a *mano,* that is rubbed up and down on the face of the lower stone, which is set in a sloping position. Both stones are of hard volcanic rock, and the implement is called a *metate.* It is operated by a single woman, who kneels and patiently scrubs the heavy pestle up and down, laid sidewise on the face of the metate and held by each end, much as a washerwoman uses a wash-board. The product of the moist hominy *(nishta-*

mal) macerated thus is dough, rather than flour, a damp mass, which is at once patted into thin cakes and baked. Made from selected corn these tortillas are very good and wholesome, but the making of them is a slavish drudgery. Many a time when entertained in humble Mexican homes I have heard when first awake in the darkness and chill of the early morning the dull scrub, scrub of the mano on the metate. The house-mother was already up and on her knees at the task of bread-making for the family, a task that not only consumes hours of time but entails the heaviest kind of manual labor. And many other forms of woman's work have been in Mexico equally primitive and exacting, demanding an expenditure of energy and of time that has stood much in the way of her intellectual progress and higher moral enlightenment.

Church and Public Schools. The hostility of the Catholic Church to the public school system has done much mischief. In the first place it has hindered the cause of education, and education is one of Mexico's most crying needs. Besides, in the second place, this antagonism of the Church to the public school reacts directly on public morals. Since the Church condemns the schools, all who send

WOMAN WHO WALKED 100 MILES TO FIND A PROTESTANT CHURCH

to them, all who teach in them, all who are taught, must look upon themselves as sinners —whether they will or not. Their consciences are "offended." In retaliation or in desperation they often become or proclaim themselves unbelievers or atheists. Even young women, studying in the state normal schools and prospective teachers of the country's children, have to think of themselves as defiant unbelievers. The Church—Christianity—and education are thus set in antagonism. Religion and morality part company. That which should be a saving force in society becomes a destructive influence.

The Church in Mexico. It is through this and other similar proceedings that the Catholic Church has about lost its hold upon the thinking people of Mexico. In fact it has but slight power over the thought of any class; such grasp as remains to it is because of custom and tradition rather than by reasoned conclusions. This fact accounts for the surprising progress of the Protestant Churches. But only a beginning has been made in remedying the situation. Purer forms of Christianity are unknown to them. Unless religion can be presented to them in terms adjusted to their present standards of intellectual and industrial advance, and to

their ideals for the future, they will suffer irreparable harm. To remedy their deep-seated conviction that Christianity is the foe of enlightenment and to place religion in its proper relation, as the ally of all that makes for progress and national well-being as well as the salvation of the people from degrading superstition and open sin, is an undertaking which the evangelical churches having entered upon cannot follow up too earnestly.

Need of the Master. I am conscious that this is a most incomplete and fragmentary account of the social and moral conditions obtaining to-day in Mexico, and of the reasons for them. I have not sought to paint a black picture, but limitations of space have made it impossible to soften and qualify. I am sure that those conditions are improving. And I am equally sure that no other influence for their betterment can begin to compare with the gospel of Jesus Christ, which has a healing touch for both the intellectual and the moral life. Its effect upon a nation, upon the women of a nation, especially, who are the mothers of the nation to be, is symbolized by the experience of that woman who, drawing near to the Master in the midst of a throng, timidly touched his garment. Instantly she knew within herself that she was

healed, while all the hands and voices of the multitude could not conceal from him the sense that a hand of faith—the tender, appealing, soothing, ministering hand of a woman—had been stretched out to him. So Mexico stretches out her hand to-day. In the midst of the hurrying, careless throng, let us pray that with it she may reach the garment of One who is able to heal all her diseases.

THE INTELLECTUAL AWAKENING DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The progress made in education has been great in the last quarter of a century. Unfortunately reliable statistics up to date are not available; but there is evidence to show that the number of public schools is over ten thousand, and the attendance well on toward a million pupils. Since religious toleration has come again to recognize that the Roman Catholics even have some rights, there are many parochial schools under charge of priests or nuns. There are, besides, many private, religious, and association schools giving education to something like a quarter of a million pupils. Higher, technical, and special education is admirably cared for.—*Joseph King Goodrich.*

The reaction against the tyranny of the Roman Catholic Church has driven thousands of the thinking men of Mexico completely over to unbelief in all of its various forms. Atheism, agnosticism, pantheism, spiritualism, and almost every other "ism" in which men have tried to satisfy their spiritual natures are rampant. At least seventy-five per cent. of the male population who can read and write are unbelievers. Many of them outwardly conform to the Catholic Church by going to mass once a year, but it is done only to save social ostracism or assure stability in business. Nature's barriers, enactments of man, and unbelief are thus the three great towers of the fortress which stand in the way of the rapid march of the gospel army. The first is gradually giving way before the advance of railroads and progressive public officers who are constructing good roads. The second will be removed when the country is thoroughly prepared for it. The last is the greatest and is most strongly built. It is far easier to transplant faith than to grow it anew.—*W. E. Vanderbilt.*

CHAPTER V

THE INTELLECTUAL AWAKENING DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Beginning of a New Day. Though the new intellectual movement in Mexico did not progress continuously throughout the whole of the last century, it practically began with the century. Its progress was by ebb and flow, sudden starts of feverish arousement alternating with long stretches of apathy. But of all the several impulses which successively stirred the soul of the nation, none was more vital, more fertilizing, more finally and essentially significant than the political revolution begun in 1810.

Shock of Political Revolution. In 1776 the British colonists of North America had sent into the beclouded political atmosphere of the world the electric shock of their declaration of independence. Fifteen years later the awful upheaval of the French Revolution followed. Both had essentially the same effect. Both profoundly impressed the world, because each of them was a fresh

declaration of the rights of man. Succeeding the chaos of the Middle Ages had come a long period of emphasis on government, on law, on power, on the divine right of kings. But the Reformation began at last to sow the seeds of the emancipation of the individual. The art of printing came in just then, and set these seeds flying upon all the winds. The minds of men—of all sorts and conditions of men—began to stir at this new stimulus.

Napoleon and American Liberty. The political liberation of the Spanish colonies in America came about as a secondary reaction from the French Revolution, and that in a most unexpected way. The French Revolution made a way for the first Napoleon, and Napoleon, before he was done giving rein to his vast ambitions, so shook Spain, among other European countries, that her colonies fell away from her. The patriot cause in those various colonies had made but meager headway toward the goal of liberation till the hands of the mother country were weakened by the little Corsican. In Mexico there was the singular spectacle toward the last of a revolt against the Spanish crown by the Catholics, on the ground that the monarchy of Spain was no longer a " holy Cath-

olic '' institution. When this element in the Mexican population, always before tories and loyalists, fell in with the rebels, independence was instantly achieved. Spain at the time (1821) was helpless, being torn with an inner struggle between republican and monarchical parties. Thus liberty, for which Hidalgo and Morelos and Allende and hundreds of other Mexican patriots had poured out their lives, in vain, as it then seemed, and which during a ten years' struggle had appeared an ever-receding, unattainable dream, suddenly came to Mexico overnight, as it were. Men woke up and rubbed their eyes to find themselves *free.*

Freedom Awakens. Naturally such an event shook the whole intellectual life of the nation to its very roots. People asked themselves, What is this *independencia* about which everybody is shouting? What is it to be free? What kind of government shall we have now? That was nearly a hundred years ago. The questions are, for many of the people, unanswered still. For Mexico had to learn that to political liberty—if it is to be maintained—must be added the liberation mentally of the individual from ignorance, superstition, and folly, and his moral redemption from the shackles of sin. It has

been for her a hard lesson, and it is not yet fully learned. No student of the history of the people can fail, however, to observe the profound change in their intellectual life wrought by this burst of the sunlight of liberty. They were not yet free, but their country was free. They called themselves free. They thought now of their land as a national entity, entitled henceforth to its separate and unfettered life. The thought was an enchanting one. They drank it in like wine. It stirred in them a deep-seated, inextinguishable patriotism. Buoyed by the success of their near neighbors on the north they determined to have a republic, a government of the people, by the people.

Ideals and Achievement. It might be suspected from the indifferent success which Mexico has had in evolving a stable government that her ideas of popular rule are poorly defined. That is true, in a sense, as we shall presently see, but not in the sense that the ideals embodied in her constitutions and institutions have been defective. The leaders in the great struggle for free government have always known thoroughly the essential principles of such government. They have studied and followed as models the best known republican constitutions.

The Constitution of the United States is the principal basis of the two or three similar documents that Mexico has successively adopted. It is not to theoretical defects of this kind that the comparative failure of her experiments is to be traced. The constitutions were good enough. The reasons why they would not "march" are to be sought in the people. After what they had gone through with during three hundred years of training in submission, in obedience, in servility and accepted inferiority, it was not possible that any miracle of mere political liberation should change them in a day or a year into intelligent, composed, self-respecting, and self-controlled citizens of an autonomous republic. That transformation has not even yet been fully wrought. What had been three hundred years in doing has not been undone in one hundred years.

Two Points of Contact. For our purpose here we dwell on two points only at which the political revolution touched the intellectual life of the people. Of course there were many other points of contact, but these seem the most significant. The first is the one above hinted at, namely, the tremendous awakening and vivifying effect of the forma-

tion of a new national ideal. They all, down to the humblest, went through the experience of transferring their allegiance from a king, looked up to as a vicegerent of heaven, to a *patria,* a native land, a government set up by themselves. This deep and wide intellectual upheaval was wonderfully fertilizing. It set the people to thinking of a thousand things. The authority of the crown had always been allied, in the thought of the people at least, with that of the Church. Men now began to inquire why, if one had been thrown off, the other should still be tolerated. Unfortunately for her, Catholicism had no reply to make to these inquiries. Hitherto reasonings had been simply stifled. Men had had to yield to authority, in Church and state, because it was authority. No questions were answered. None were allowed to be asked. Now had come a time when mere authority did not suffice to hush men. Their minds, thoroughly aroused, refused to stop inquiring. Free speech might be silenced; it often was; but thought went on and on.

Popular Education. The other arousing influence directly traceable to the new political situation was the emphasis placed on popular education. Practically all the great pa-

triots who had to do with laying the foundation of the new Spanish American governments understood the fundamental importance, the necessity even, of educating the people—all the people, since all of the people are citizens and sovereigns. Now this undertaking is in Mexico as yet only an ideal, a dream, largely unrealized. Yet the very fact that such a dream has been dreamed, such an ideal set up, has made a profound stir. The thought has run like an electric current through all the national fiber. Unlettered men and women in remote villages and ranches have thought and talked of a time when there shall be schools everywhere, for everybody. Their sons, or their grandsons, they say, will see this, if they themselves do not. And the young people growing up have heard the talk and it has awakened in them a longing for schooling and the things of books. So it has happened that wherever enterprising governors or municipalities have pressed the work of establishing public schools they have found a constituency ready for them. And wherever the Protestant Churches have found it possible to open schools, students have flocked to them. Even the Catholic Church has been forced by this demand to enter, if re-

luctantly and, for the most part, rather inefficiently, upon the task of teaching, and its schools too are crowded. There is, in short, universal approval of the idea of educating the people. Nobody whose opinion is worth while now opposes universal schooling. It is an accepted axiom of the national life. It is not yet in practise, but the limitation is because of the system and the equipment, not for the lack of a demand.

Education the Mother of Ideas. This national turning from a long period of contented ignorance to an epoch of universal devotion to the idea of education is a revolution in the mental life and habits of the people that is absolutely fundamental. It is an awakening, a real new birth. It is the fruitful mother of a whole flock of stimulating and arousing ideas; ideas that have spread like a contagion throughout the people during the passing of the century just closed.

Economic Awakening. Next in importance to this awakening of the national pride of freedom and the desire for letters—intellectual and moral influences strictly, both of them—is the mental reaction aroused by the new industrialism. Of this on every hand are instances—tragic, stirring, melancholy, often ludicrous. The tremendous natural

CHILDREN OF MEXICO

resources of the country attracted to it abundance of capital as soon as the government became stable enough to offer protection. Mines were opened, railway lines built, telegraphs established, manufactories inaugurated. It was foreign capital largely that did this, for most of the money of Mexico was in the hands of the old, wealthy families, of people who are usually excessively timid. They distrusted and disliked the new order of things, and it was next to impossible to persuade them to invest their funds. With the foreign money came the foreigners too, with their novel ideas, unfamiliar articles, new ways, strange speech, odd modes of thought, opening up everywhere channels of communication with the big modern world outside, so long, for Mexico, unknown and remote.

Common Carriers of Ideas. The railroads, for example, were a huge entering wedge for modern ideas. Conservative influence was everywhere used against them. The people heard strange stories about the locomotives —that they were living monsters, infernal creatures, full of fire and terror, devouring wood and coal and perhaps also children, and screaming loudly for more. Besides they moved so rapidly that people and chick-

ens and dogs and donkeys were continually getting ground up under their terrible wheels. In 1884 I rode from Mexico City several miles to a suburban town on a car drawn by mules. Noticing that the track was ballasted and laid with rather heavy steel, I asked the reason of such unusual extravagance. It transpired that the road had had at first steam engines for drawing the cars, but so much prejudice had been excited by the smashing up of chickens and goats and by the breathless and unnecessary haste with which the trains moved, that the company was forced to take off the engines and use mules!

Policy of President Diaz. The government, however, under President Diaz especially, steadily promoted the building of railways. They were needed for the industrial development of the country and quite as much for the purposes of the government itself. The more difficult and unpromising lines were therefore heavily subsidized out of government funds, special provision being made at the same time for the use of tracks and trains whenever required by the government. These government funds but increased the tide of foreign money which poured into the country. Labor was in de-

mand as never before. The peons from the haciendas and mines were astounded at the offer of wages double their usual pay for labor on construction and maintenance. They were frequently hauled free halfway across the country simply to get them to where they were needed. Strange modes of work, strange tools, vehicles, and implements—dynamite, steam shovels, pile-drivers, derrick engines—the bustle and stimulation of construction camps where the ends of the earth come together—for it was impossible that Irish paddy, Chinese cook, and darky camp-follower should fail to appear on a scene like that, to say nothing of engineers and their helpers, American, English, and Scotch—opened up for these dusky toilers from remote farms and villages a whole new world. Their sons later got to be brakemen, messenger boys, stokers, telegraph operators, conductors. They themselves developed a mania for train riding and explored the length and breadth of their broad country. They saw newspapers, fruits, and candies for sale that had come from beyond the border, from that great land to the north that had always before seemed to them so far away. They heard their beautiful language ruthlessly butch-

ered by big, blonde fellows, who though they could not speak Spanish knew a thousand things and could work marvelous doings and achieve impossible undertakings.

Stimulus of New Things. So profound and widespread an industrial change, affecting the most intimate affairs of the humblest and most ignorant of the people, wrought mightily to arouse the mind of all. The people had to face a thousand new ideas and relations. They discussed among themselves, they meditated at length, they canvassed from every possible angle, all these unfamiliar and stunning concepts. Often they were forced to give up problems as insoluble. Often they found old faiths and fixed beliefs profoundly shaken. There was a spirit and an indomitable determination about these foreigners that was a source of unmeasured wonder to them. Nothing was admitted to be impossible. Always a way could be found. If a tract of jungle or a wild mountain gorge was considered impenetrable, straightway these *americanos* plowed through it a chasm for their steel rails and shrieking locomotives. It is not surprising, therefore, that ideas in the moral and intellectual realm that long had been accepted as settled began to lose their fixity and finality.

The resourcefulness and independence of their new friends were for the Mexicans contagious. That spirit of self-reliance, of determined self-assertion got abroad among them.

Young America in Mexico. It was especially among the young that the new ideas began to ferment, the new ways to find acceptance. They had been employed perhaps from childhood by these foreign railroad people. They had picked up no small smattering of English from employers who had a way of forcing their hands to speak English because they themselves could not or would not learn Spanish. They were imbued with the desire to be up-to-date, in thought and ways. All of which things served to shake them free of the old customs, more and more. For centuries one phrase had exercised in Mexico a most potent sway. Against all innovations the sufficient objection could be urged: *No es costumbre,*—It is not the custom. That had long sufficed as a reason for not changing. The people argued that if a thing had been good enough for their fathers, it was good enough for them. Not so these youthful imitators of things foreign. They thought all the less of a custom or mode of thought if it represented the ways of their

fathers, for their fathers and ancestors stood in their minds for industrial inefficiency, for an antiquated and no longer possible subserviency to old ways merely because they are old. The railways and other similar public works were, in short, a school where the youth of Mexico learned modern ways and were awakened to modern conceptions.

Modern Ways. Quite the same may be said of the development of mining, of manufacturing, and even of farming and stock-raising. The entrance of foreign capital, the opening up of free communication with other countries, and the immigration of many forceful and efficient foreigners have all wrought directly upon the mental habits of the Mexican people. In mining operations there have been a steady advancement of wages and an equally constant improvement of the conditions of labor. Modern factories of many kinds have been established in different sections of the country, and the working people are going through various stages of adjustment to their new conditions, including the organization of labor unions, of mutual benefit societies, and like agencies. This effort at coöperation and organization has been a most wholesome

influence. The better wages paid under the stimulation of industrial prosperity have made conditions of living much more tolerable than formerly. The people have had time and spirit for social activities, and the desire of bettering their condition has greatly stimulated the organization of various forms of mutual benefit societies.

Learning to Give and Take. The peculiar gain in all this lies principally in the fact that the Mexicans have naturally few aptitudes for such organization. Like most people newly freed from hard political conditions they are prone to indulge in an exaggerated individualism. They are self-assertive, sensitive as to personal honor, watchful of rights, ambitious of leadership. The various social organizations—labor unions, mutual insurance societies, debating clubs, masonic and other lodges,—have had stormy careers. Not seldom they have been completely wrecked on the rock of disagreements among the members. But the discipline of trying to adjust themselves to the demands of such social experiments, the effort at self-command and at mutual surrender for a common cause, has been of incalculable value to the people. It has helped to teach them that if a man is to be a sov-

ereign citizen he must begin with mastery of himself. It has turned the eyes of many from the exaggerated egoism natural to those who have just found themselves to the duty of sacrifice for the common good. It has set the common good in its true light as more important than the welfare or gratification of any individual—as essential even to the welfare of each as well as of all.

Mexican Characteristics. These influences have had some deep-seated national traits to which to appeal. The Mexican, in common with most men, has a stubborn hatred of injustice. He is, moreover, naturally of a sympathetic nature. The adjective in common use by which he describes an agreeable, attractive person is *simpático*. Though sometimes he is seemingly cruel, it is only in a childish, thoughtless way. At heart he is a tender man, generous to a fault, prodigal of time, labor, and money for the benefit of his needy fellows. In no country in the world are beggars treated with more consideration or poor relations more generously cared for. Besides all this, the long course of oppression, civil, ecclesiastical, industrial, had welded the people into a unified mass, vast, unwieldy, dimly conscious of itself, yet essentially one. At last the pressure

which had held it together was withdrawn. The centrifugal forces of a new individualism were threatening to scatter the mass in whirring fragments. If its unity was to be preserved it must now be by inner attraction, by a conscious effort at union and cooperation. This crucial demand upon them for the study and comprehension of the essentials of community action was only dimly and vaguely felt by many, but it furnished a background of courage and of hope amid the many humiliating failures at cooperative organization through which the people had to pass.

Groping for a Social Standard. It served also, and this is especially to our purpose, as a potent and inexhaustible stimulant to the intellectual life of the people. Like the setting up of the standard of political liberty, dependent on the eternal vigilance of those who would be free, it aroused men to think who were not used to think, for whom it is hard to think—an unaccustomed effort to which they adjust themselves with extreme difficulty. The methods and detail of organization, the rules of procedure, established in other lands on the basis of long experience, the benefits to be derived from joint action and to be forfeited by the want

of it, all these became the subject of profound and persistent study. It made men read, it furnished stock for endless conversation and argument, it forced them into contact with the world, hitherto so remote and unknown, and like the influence of the railroads, became really a course of study, a college, a university for developing the minds of all the people.

A National Press. Of other elements in the national awakening we have yet to mention one which was among the most potent, and which, though a little hard to isolate from other related influences, merits separate and special discussion, and that is the development of a national press. So general was illiteracy throughout the country after independence was achieved that this development was a slow one. Liberty of the press was proclaimed from the beginning. But for a long time it was far from being realized. Under Spanish rule there was, of course, no pretense of such a thing. The Spanish government, like the Catholic Church, exercised an open and severe censorship. People were allowed to print and to read only what their mentors thought would be good for them. After the beginning of the experiment at self-government it was soon found that gen-

erals and Presidents were when in power uncommonly sensitive to public criticism. A judicious critic of Latin America has said that one of the failings of the people of these nations is that they so often take words for deeds. Something of that has from the beginning been witnessed in the attitude of public men to the press. In Mexico it has been the rule rather than the exception that men in authority have suppressed the periodicals which criticized them or their policies, and have tolerated only those that would deal out fulsome praise.

Steady Gains. Nevertheless the gradual extension of the schools, of one kind or another, the steady rise of the people in the scale of literacy, working together with the great democratic principle of a free press, have stimulated the growth and independence of the newspapers. In recent years they have greatly multiplied. In one form or another, as trade journals, literary publications, political organs, or mere newspapers, they have now pretty well extended themselves over the whole nation. They go into village and hamlet, as well as into city and town, and they are read till they are worn out. The people who cannot read—and the proportion of these, except in remote

Indian settlements, is rapidly diminishing—have the papers read aloud to them. White paper is expensive in Mexico as are other essentials of the printer's art, and the periodicals are apt to be cheap looking and shabby. But they are having a tremendous influence. The ideas and the news which they disseminate and the desire for knowledge and learning which they awaken are among the outstanding elements in the general intellectual awakening concerning which our study is now occupied. As in other and more favored lands, the "free press" is by no means always free. Sinister influences of various kinds secure control of these organs of "public opinion." Newspapers, like men, may be victims of many other forms of servitude besides being subservient to a tyrannical government. Even the news columns are invaded, and ends of a secret and selfish character are sought in the very manner of placing the news of the world before the reading public. But while all these influences are more easily exercised among an inexperienced and simple class of readers than among those who are prepared by long training to understand the drift and meaning of things, it is still better for people to read than not to read. And whether for bet-

ter or for worse, the die is cast. The periodicals of Mexico are rapidly making a reading people of the inhabitants of that country. This profound change in the mental atmosphere in which they move is one which must be taken account of in summing up the elements of the modern intellectual movement.

Cosmopolitan Consciousness. Closely akin to the newspapers and their influence, is the arousing quality of contact with the world through modern methods of travel and intercommunication. The train service, the telegraph and cable, the telephone and post-office are all carriers of ideas. Barriers of nationality and of language offer difficulties, but they are temporary and far from invincible. The train that carries only Texans in Texas may roll across the border to be loaded with Spanish-speaking Mexicans. The signs of the Morse alphabet can be made to spell out words in Chinese or Aztec, and the telephone carries a conversation in Spanish quite as cheerfully and as clearly as one in English. The fact that people all over the world are availing themselves of modern modes of rapid and distant travel and of modern means of conveying ideas where it is not desired to convey

bodies, is bringing the whole world to a community of thought. It is a most stirring thing, too, to feel that you are one with the great and widespread human race, that you are thinking the same thoughts with your brother over seas or at the antipodes.

Awakening to World-wide Influences. It would be an interesting study, were there space for it, to trace the numerous ways in which this sense of mental touch with the world silently affects the thinking of a people. There are standards of opinion and judgment embodied in the very phrases which become current and which insensibly press in upon the fixed ideas of non-progressive and isolated people. We have in Spain to-day the spectacle of a people held fast in the chains of authority and restrained at every point from responding to the modern currents of thought which from every quarter blow upon it. Yet so potent are these silent forces of the spirit of the times that even the people of Spain, illiterate and apparently helpless as they are, seem about to break over the barriers set up by both Church and state, and assert their right to be a part of the modern, progressive world.

Rapid Transformation. Under the protection of the excellent laws and policing, people from

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other countries traveled all over Mexico and many of them settled down to business or professional pursuits.

Spread of the English Language. Within twenty years the English language from being a novelty when heard on the streets came to be a commonplace almost everywhere. I was once (about 1892) detained by a storm of rain in an Indian village on Lake Patzcuaro. The railroad had but lately penetrated that region and the life of the Tarasco Indians was, as it still is, exceedingly primitive. The family with whom I found lodging and a warm welcome had but a dirt floor hut, with a very small and low "lean-to" as kitchen and dining-room. I could only get into this room in a sitting posture, and the one part of the main room where I could stand upright was in the hole left for the ladder which led to the "loft," with my head and shoulders in the second story! The warmth of the kitchen fire was shared by a cat and dog. The cat caused the family great merriment by sitting on a warm stone till she fell asleep and then nodding till she rolled in the hot ashes. This happened several times, causing each time shouts of laughter. The dog was a great favorite and made himself much at home.

My hosts spoke Spanish with considerable difficulty, talking always among themselves their native Tarasco. This is a beautiful language, by the way, in sound considerably resembling English. They frequently addressed the dog by a name which I took to be Indian, as I was sure it was not Spanish. Finally I said, "What is the name you give the dog?" They laughed and looked surprised. "Popepy, popepy," they said, "English, you know; American name: *popepy*. Isn't that right?" I then discovered that they were calling him "puppy," a word which they had learned from a young Mexican preacher who had visited them the year before and who had a smattering of English. This discovery of my native tongue in that strange out-of-the-way setting was as surprising to me as was the fact that they dragged out for me a cheap American canvas cot on which to sleep. It also had been left by the young preacher, and frightfully cold it proved, that raw, rainy night.

Educational Statistics Impossible. The lack of properly kept records makes it difficult to trace the educational development of Mexico. During the administration of President Diaz much attention was given to public schools. The Federal District and the terri-

tories under federal control had excellent systems provided for them by congress. A number of the states followed with plans for rural schools and for the supervision of those established by municipalities, with compulsory laws, state normal schools, and other advanced features. The plans adopted were modern and admirable, but the course of development was everywhere slow. There was no adequate supply of teachers and supervisors. The influence of the Church was thrown against the whole institution, including, of course, the state normal schools. The people were not yet really hungry for enlightenment, and so were easily discouraged. The schools themselves were usually rather crude affairs. The custom of conning lessons aloud was general. A busy primary school could easily be heard a block away, and the strident yells of enthusiastic little Indians were enough to make tatters of any teacher's nerves.

School Situation To-day. The political disturbances of the last two years have pretty effectually wrecked the public school work. The Federal Minister of Education recently issued an estimate that probably seventy-five per cent. of the Mexican people are still illiterate. This is undoubtedly an

exaggeration, indulged in, seemingly, for political effect. Going over the matter carefully with a Mexican friend, a gentleman who was for eleven years president of the state normal school and superintendent of primary education for the state of Coahuila, I have reached the conclusion that fifty per cent. of illiterates is as high a rate as need be charged against the Mexican people of to-day. A hundred years ago it was about ninety per cent.

Demand for Letters. But while the public school work has of late been interrupted, the demand for schooling has been greatly intensified. The recent political disturbances have been distinctively popular movements —excepting, of course, the coup of Diaz and Huerta against Madero. They have profoundly stirred popular thought. They put a premium on reading and intelligence. One result is that mission schools are crowded as never before. Newspapers are springing up everywhere. They are eagerly taken and read, and the people who cannot read bewail it and wish to send their children to school.

Everybody is Thinking Now. The arousing effect of these recent political events has been, indeed, almost equal to that exercised

by the great revolution of a hundred years ago. In a general way the country is much worse off for these revolutions. Farming and commerce are paralyzed and fighting and pillage have caused immense damage. I met a Mexican laborer on the street in El Paso, Texas, while the fighting in Mexico City was in progress last February. He had a small Spanish newspaper in his hand, and I began a conversation by asking what was the news. The paper contained nothing new, but we proceeded to exchange items. I was impressed that the feeling uppermost in his mind was one of shame that his countrymen should fall out and fight in the heart of the capital. "That is the one beautiful city that we Mexicans have," he mourned, "and now they are ruining it with their cannon." I tried to draw him out as to his political preferences, but he was too cautious. Yet I did not doubt he had opinions and only concealed them because I was a stranger to him.

A New Public Opinion. That is the one distinct gain that the visitor to Mexico to-day will note. There is at last beginning to be such a thing there as public opinion. Ambitious leaders are finding that the people can no longer be driven like sheep. General Reyes tried to start a revolution against

Madero, but nobody would rally to him. He was a very popular man, too. Madero tried to raise an army, but the people would not enlist. Huerta has laid violent hands on the presidency, but the people disapprove of him as a usurper, a man whose hands are stained with blood. They will not enlist in his army at double wages even. The sleeping giant is awakening. The long submerged and disregarded common people of Mexico are coming to a consciousness of themselves. They are longing for light and help. Never before was the way so wide open for the Christian teacher.

Are We Good Neighbors? Of course in a national transition of this sort there are many grotesque and even absurd contrasts. Often the people go so fast that there is a reaction. We Americans have not always been happy in our representatives in Mexico. All sorts of adventurers have crossed the Rio Grande, some for their own and their country's good. Many who were not mere adventurers have been harsh and unsympathetic in their attitude toward the Mexicans. Thus, though we are their nearest neighbors, though we have more that they wish and need than any other people, of both institutions and commerce, though we

have successfully established the kind of government that they are striving for, though our political constitution is the model for theirs, though, in short, we are their natural neighbors and helpers and big brothers, we have played the part but poorly and have no very strong hold on their regard. The memory of the unfortunate war of 1845 rankles yet in the thought of many. Our rough ways and bad manners do not fit us for the work of conciliation. Many of our people, in personal contact with the Mexicans, have been and are rude and unfeeling. Our tremendous wealth has put many of the great and productive enterprises throughout Mexico under American control. That is not a pleasant thing for Mexicans to contemplate. So a spasm of anti-Americanism not unfrequently passes over the country. We are not, as we ought to be, the most popular people with them. Fortunately the two governments, especially since we helped Mexico in her great struggle with France and Maximilian, have been on the best of terms with each other. Not even sharp friction along the border from time to time, or the fomenting of Mexican revolutions on American soil, has availed to disturb this peaceful relationship. This state

of things should by all means be perpetuated. Public sentiment in both nations ought to demand it. We should not intervene by sending soldiers to Mexico. That would be terrible, disastrous. But out of our strength and abundance we ought to send to our needy neighbor teachers, evangelists, friends. These will be made welcome. They will win for us the eternal gratitude and good-will of an entire nation.

THE PROTESTANT MOVEMENT

There is another, if possible sadder, fact. The Indians, or more than half the population, though counted as members of the Roman communion, never have had an opportunity to know what Christianity is. They have been left without education, without Bibles, and have been permitted to mingle their ancient rites and superstitions with some of the outward forms of Christianity. Indians in feather plumage dancing at the sacred shrine of Guadalupe; niches, side by side, in villages and roadways, to the Virgin of Guadalupe and to the Aztec war god, Huitzilopochtli, are some current evidences of the criminal negligence of the Roman priesthood, a negligence that has covered three centuries. How shall Protestant Christians do their part toward the salvation of these millions?—*John W. Butler.*

Why play at missions with such a magnificent opportunity as presents itself on this field? A compact city with a population larger than was reported for at least two of the states of our great union at the last census, and nearly two and one-half times as great as the population of one of them. In view of the vast resources which God has placed in the hands of North American Christians does not this condition in a great North American city seem pitiable in the extreme? We certainly have neglected some vast opportunities on our own continent. Who could ask for a better opportunity of investing a few thousand dollars where his investment would bring quick returns in evangelizing a great city?—*L. E. Troyer.*

CHAPTER VI

THE PROTESTANT MOVEMENT

Breaking away from Catholicism. The French intervention and the brief and fatal empire of Maximilian of Austria were in reality a sort of last, desperate stand on the part of the Church party in Mexico. After an alliance with the civil government of the country which had continued for more than three hundred years, enabling them during all that time to proscribe all religious teaching except their own, Church leaders could ill brook the liberal constitution of 1857 and the accompanying "Laws of Reform." These laws were aimed directly at the special privileges of the Roman Church, such as the right of ecclesiastics when accused of crime to trial in a special court of their own and Church control of cemeteries and marriage as well as at the immense ecclesiastical realty holdings and the idle non-producing groups of religious devotees. The new property regulations were similar to the mortmain laws long ago enforced in England and more recently

in France. They forbade the holding of real estate by a Church except for immediate use in connection with public worship. It was this drastic provision, coupled as it was with the sequestration of all actual holdings in violation of it, which drove the Church party in Mexico, after failing in a bloody war, to the desperate measure of seeking help in Europe, resulting in the French intervention.

Intellectual Emancipation. All this took place during the dark years of the American Civil War, when the government at Washington was too deeply engrossed with domestic troubles to take note of the violation of the Monroe doctrine. But the ragged patriots of Mexico gradually drove back the trained French troops under Bazaine and other famous leaders, as they had just previously discomfited the armies of the conservative party in Mexico. By 1867, as we have seen, Maximilian was defeated and slain, the French troops had been withdrawn—partly under pressure from Washington, though the king of France was glad of a pretext—and the Republic was triumphant in the land of the Aztecs. Already during the years of bitter struggle, when the principles underlying republican institutions were being subjected to minute study and the Reform Laws had

set everybody to examining anew the whole subject of religion, many of the thoughtful opponents of a political and decadent Church had taken occasion to insist that they were not hostile to true Christianity. The York Rite of masonry, with its exaltation of the Bible, had been introduced in spite of savage persecution and in the face of a horrified public sentiment. Many public men openly advocated the introduction of Protestantism as an aid in the struggle against religious conditions which had become intolerable. President Juarez himself is quoted on excellent authority as saying that "upon the development of Protestantism largely depends the future happiness of our country."

Buildings Available. During the administration of Juarez, immediately following the intervention, the federal government found itself in possession of many buildings taken from the Catholics. These were not easily sold, as anathemas had been launched against any who should traffic in what had been consecrated property. The long interdict against Protestant societies having been at last raised, work was soon begun by several evangelical Churches. To one of these, early on the ground, a grant was made by the government of a valuable chapel in the heart of

Mexico City, and it was enabled also to purchase on easy terms part of what had been the monastery of San Francisco. Other societies obtained by purchase from the federal authorities valuable locations there and in many other cities throughout the country.

Religious Clubs. A singular phenomenon of those troubled years, hinting of the influence exerted by that divine Spirit which long ago brooded over earth's chaos, was the formation of numerous quasi-religious voluntary associations—groups of men for study, discussion, and mutual benefit. These sprang up all over the country. Later, several of them were merged into Christian congregations. One such group in Mexico City had as active leader a soldier named Sosthenes Juarez, a relative of the great President. He had by accident come into possession of a French Bible brought over by one of the chaplains of the army of intervention—so strangely does God make the wrath of man to praise him. This Bible was made the nucleus of a voluntary association of men whose religious instincts were feeling after something that might satisfy them. So powerfully did the divine Word do its work in their minds and hearts that through the influence of that one Bible in a language which

only a few of them understood, nearly all of them became confessed Christians. Mr. Juarez, who was a man of culture and force, able to read the Bible in French and translate it for the benefit of his associates, later became a minister of the gospel, and after more than twenty years of efficient service in that calling died at his post as a soldier of the cross. The old French Bible and the manuscript regulations of this society, signed by all the members, are still preserved in the archives of the Board under which Mr. Juarez labored.

Influence of the Bible. This incident illustrates anew how religious awakenings root themselves in the Bible. That Book is the ally of all intellectual and social struggles after better things. It arouses the minds of those who touch it for the first time as nothing else will, and also profoundly stirs the moral conscience. And it does not stop with awakening new desires and aspirations; it guides as well as awakens. It makes men demand enlightenment. It is the mother of the public school. It is the enemy of darkness. It inspires courage. It drives the human mind to test and to investigate. By thrusting final responsibility on the individual brain and heart, it is in particular the

enemy of a religion which habitually delegates authority on the one hand and demands submission on the other. The modern evangelical movement in Mexico rests on Bible distribution. Almost immediately after the republican government had lifted the embargo of centuries on Scripture selling, both the American Bible Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society had agents in Mexico. The American Society had already for several years been feeling its way into the interior near the northern border where even during the long war the patriot influence was strong enough to protect its workers. One of these deserves special mention. Miss Melinda Rankin, a missionary on the border of Texas among the Mexicans, later made her way into the interior of Mexico, as far as Monterey, and seeing what was the principal need of the people, put herself into touch with the American Bible Society and gave about all her time to Bible distribution. This was in the sixties, prior to and during the French intervention, and was, to all intents and purposes, the beginning of Protestant mission work in Mexico.

Americans in Mexico. The attention of the people of the United States was strongly drawn to Mexico immediately after the

American Civil War. A considerable group of soldiers of fortune from the United States, both Northern and Southern, allied themselves with the Juarez government and took part in the closing months of the war against Maximilian. Another group, smaller but more prominent as to its personnel, of Southern soldiers and sympathizers, left the United States and settled in Mexico after the defeat of General Lee's armies. The long struggle of the Juarez government against a foreign invader and its final success, added to the popular interest in Mexican affairs. The news of the establishment of a republican government there, with religious liberty, was welcomed everywhere. But it was accompanied by reports of deplorable religious and educational conditions. The American Churches, therefore, made haste to enter this inviting field. Both the government and the people were ready to welcome evangelical Christianity. And from that day to this no other attitude has been shown by them. The few instances of local persecution have invariably been disturbances stirred up by the priests and other intolerant partizans of the Roman Catholic Church.

Beginning of the Missionary Movement. American missions began to be rapidly opened up

in the early seventies. Some Baptist groups had grown up in the northern districts of Mexico in the sixties, related loosely to the work of Miss Rankin. Toward the end of that same decade a mission was organized in Mexico City, first on independent lines. Later it was taken over by the mission board of the Protestant Episcopal Church. This work began under peculiarly favorable auspices. Mr. H. C. Riley, a missionary from South America, who already understood Spanish, was at the head of it. The government of President Juarez favored the work in the matter of adequate housing, and a group of friends of Mr. Riley in the United States contributed largely with funds. The mission flourished for a decade or more, doing an especially noteworthy work in the training of a group of young Mexican ministers. Several of these young men became later, and some of them yet remain, potent factors in the progress of Christianity in Mexico.

Some Other Beginnings. The Society of Friends organized mission work in the extreme northeastern corner of the republic (1871), following closely upon the work of the Baptists (North) in the same frontiers. Then followed the Presbyterian Church

(1872), the Congregational (1872), the Methodist Episcopal Church (1873), the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (1873), the Presbyterian (South) (1874), the Associated Reformed Presbyterian (1878), and the Southern Baptist (1880). Two or three other denominations have since entered the field, and in 1897 an Independent Mexican Church was organized. It is principally congregational in its form of government. Recent statistics show a total of about thirty thousand communicants in these several branches of Protestantism.

The People Reached. These members have been gathered largely from among the poor and uneducated classes. Mexico has always heretofore lacked a middle class. The opportunities of the new industrial development and the influence of the schools—public schools and mission schools alike—have tended strongly in recent years to build up such a class, but it remains true even yet that the people of Mexico are divided into two groups only, the rich and the poor. Fortunately the poor are often quite as promising material for citizenship, whether in Church or state, as are the rich. The only thing they have lacked has been opportunity. In Mexico, however, the days of recent Protes-

tant work have had the same mark of genuineness that was offered to strengthen the faith of John the Baptist in prison—"The poor have the gospel preached unto them." And they have received it gladly, as they did in the days of Christ. Having nothing to lose they have been quick to see that there was much for them to gain.

Difficulties of Organization. But converts from among the poorer class of Mexico have been more easily obtained than organized. These are people who have never had part in independent, coöperative efforts. They are without experience in such things, and without financial resources as well. The crucial point of mission work in that country has thus proved to be, not the securing of adherents—that is comparatively easy—but the forming of a native, self-sustaining, and self-propagating Church. The process goes on very slowly indeed. It seems that anything like perfection in this direction must await either the conversion of a considerable number of well-to-do people or the gradual building up of a middle class.

The Rich Hard to Reach. Fortunately both of these are far from forlorn hopes. Persons having place among the comfortable element in society—the "accommodated," to use a

Spanish phrase—have heretofore been hindered in many ways from becoming interested in the gospel. In the first place, social lines are very sharply drawn, and to expect such people to attend public worship in a cheap chapel or hired house, in company with a group of day laborers, would not be greatly different from asking men and women in good circumstances in the South of our own country to worship regularly in the churches of their Negro servants. This social pressure has made itself felt not merely in reference to public worship, but by the insidious channels of family and other associations, since ardent Catholics have always managed to have it understood that interest in Protestantism was bad form. Heavy pressure of another sort also has regularly been exerted, namely, in business and financial matters. Men with property or in business have not been willing to risk the chances of boycott, a measure that has been unhesitatingly applied when necessary. The gradual introduction of a more liberal atmosphere is changing all this. Mexicans are traveling abroad; many foreigners are living or traveling in Mexico. The feeling that to obtrude religious prejudices into the social and business realm is out of harmony with the spirit of the times

is becoming general, and so it is not at all uncommon now for persons whose place in the business and social world is secure to follow their spiritual promptings and become Protestants. The number of such persons is few as yet, but it is destined to increase, probably rapidly increase, in the not distant future.

A Coming Middle Class. On the other hand, the building up of a middle class is already going on rapidly. Many wage earners are securing what is for them a competence and becoming economically independent. The federal government, the separate states—especially the more progressive and wealthy ones—and the Protestant missions have now for about forty years been diligently engaged in the development of popular education. The work has been far from ideal or satisfactory. There have been many hindrances. But it has gone on, and the total outcome after more than a generation is most significant. The men and women educated out of the lowest class to a distinctly higher level have been in numbers comparatively few, but their influence is now quite out of proportion to their numbers. They are of a more vital and ambitious type than the contemporary descendants of the privileged

classes. They are therefore rapidly displacing them in the industrial, business, and political affairs of the country. The revolution of 1911 was officered almost exclusively by men of this type. The proportion of Protestants among its leaders was noteworthy. They were there, not because of being Protestants, for it was in no sense a religious movement, but because of their fitness for the work in hand. That state of things has continued in the building up of a new army and the manning of civil government in the various states. The difficulties with which the Madero government had to contend were many, and not least among them was the prejudice of the displaced aristocracy against this invasion of the bourgeoisie.

Modes of Work. Mission work in Mexico has been carried on principally along the two general lines of evangelization and education. At least three successful ventures in medical work have been made, that of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Guanajuato, that of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Monterey, and that of the Baptists in Guadalajara. The record made by these hospitals seems to indicate that such agencies might well have been employed even more exten-

sively. Medical service for the villagers, especially in retired mountainous sections, is scant, often nil; some understanding of simple remedies is therefore of great advantage to religious workers in such sections.

Mission Schools. Educational endeavor, in one form or another, has been common to all the evangelical missions. The women's boards and auxiliaries especially have concerned themselves with this line of work, mostly for girls, and have had large and highly satisfactory results. The Mexicans distinctly prefer the boarding-school, often placing their daughters as boarders when living in the same city. Boarding-schools for girls have thus met with general favor in the cities of the republic. When judiciously managed they not seldom are practically self-sustaining, aside from the original outlay for a plant and the salary of one or two missionaries. Public opinion is, however, highly sensitive and also suspicious, so that extreme care in management is essential to success. Coeducation, for example, is nowhere approved, and the attempt to introduce it, even in the lower grades, has been detrimental to several otherwise successful institutions. The public schools rigidly separate boys and girls through all the grades.

GRADUATING CLASS, NORMAL SCHOOL, SALTILLO

SARAH L. KEEN COLLEGE FOR GIRLS, MEXICO CITY

Education of Teachers. The most effective outcome of the girls' schools has been in the development at several of these institutions of a teachers' normal course. These have proved uniformly successful; the demand for their graduates, in public schools, private institutions, and other mission schools being continuously greater than the supply. These admirable institutions have thus sent out into the influential position of teacher a large number of emancipated, yet modest and Christian young women. Their influence in the course of another generation is destined to be widespread.

Reflex Influences. A by-product of the educational work of the missions, especially that for girls, has been the stirring up to better standards of the Catholic schools. There were a good many of these, but their courses of study were unscientific and their interests chiefly other than scholastic. But in competition with the effective and practical courses given in the Protestant schools, advantages for which students and their parents were willing to brave even religious prejudice, these older institutions had either to improve or lose all their patronage. In order to hold their own, therefore, they have taken to importing skilled teachers from the United

States and elsewhere, and are offering many courses of study not before found in their curricula. Simultaneously, as has been noted, there was a general development of the public school system. And so great has been the demand for education that voluntary private schools have been financially successful in many places. Those offering a commercial course have been especially popular.

The Boys Neglected. In the education of boys and young men, however, the missions have done nothing like so well as with the girls' schools. The women's societies do little else than educational work, and hence successfully concentrate on it. But the money of the general boards must go for a number of other enterprises, and so it is difficult for them to be sufficiently liberal with educational plants. In many of the missions, day-schools were an early, and always successful, branch of work. This work, however, by reason of the growing emphasis on evangelism, has largely been abandoned. The system of public schools, generally promulgated some twenty-five years ago, promised to be so complete that it was felt by many that the education of the nation was sufficiently provided for. Unfortunately it proved more complete on paper than in

reality, and many missionary leaders are now regretting that the school work was not more persistently followed up by the Churches.

Theological Training. Practically all the chief missions have recognized the need of an institution for the training of their own church workers. Hence theological seminaries, or more exactly, training schools for Christian workers, have been set up and maintained by the Presbyterians at Mexico City, by the Methodists at Puebla and San Luis Potosi, by the Congregationalists at Guadalajara, and by others. Had it been possible to develop, along with these training-schools, first-class high schools for boys, that work would have been most fruitful. At Puebla the Methodist Episcopal mission has maintained such a school and it has been a most effective agency for good. But the class of boys available for students in these schools have been unable as a rule to pay tuition and board bills, in full, at least, so that failing an endowment, large annual grants have been required to keep up this kind of work. No school in Mexico has as yet been endowed otherwise than with a few special scholarships or similar aids. Had a great Protestant college been set down in that country twenty years ago, its position would

by this time be as commanding as is that of Robert College in the Balkans, or of some of the great missionary institutions in India and China. It is not even yet too late for the planting of such a school, which ought, if founded, to be interdenominational, liberally equipped, and endowed. There are few openings in America more promising than this for the bestowment of a substantial sum of money by some philanthropist who seeks to serve his generation. It has proved quite out of the question for the mission boards to make even a beginning of such an institution. The native churches grow so slowly into a state of self-support and the evangelistic work is so urgent and so successful that up to the present these boards have had more demands on them in other lines than their income would permit them to meet.

Evangelistic Work. As has been intimated, the outstanding success of the evangelical missionary work in Mexico has been in the evangelistic department. The work of preaching has, it is true, been carried on under some rather severe handicaps. The Reform Laws forbid the holding of any religious service in the open air. This has prevented all forms of street preaching, market-place services, camp-meetings, and the like,

FACULTY AND STUDENTS, THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, COYOACAN

FACULTY AND STUDENTS, QUERÉTARO INSTITUTE

in a country peculiarly adapted by climate to work of this kind. The same laws, in return for this hindrance, rigorously guarantee protection for all congregations meeting in an orderly manner in private houses or in halls or churches. This protection has often had to be invoked as against local disturbances stirred up by a few fanatical opponents of anything new in the way of religious worship.

Difficulties. The scattered state of the people in rural districts and the lack of a genuinely rural element in the population, the necessity of holding meetings in mean and unattractive quarters in the cities, the difficulty of securing ministers intellectually and spiritually fitted for leadership, are other hindrances that have often proved grave. Nevertheless, throughout almost the entire period of work in Mexico, evangelistic endeavor has continued fruitful. The secret is that the people have a real hunger for the gospel. Its doctrines of direct approach to God, of individual accountability, of conscious pardon, and of freedom in Christ Jesus have for them a most compelling appeal.

Influence of Song. One element in Protestant worship that has proved a special attraction to the music-loving Mexicans has been the

singing. The people can nearly all sing. They have an innate sense of harmony and rarely sing discordant notes, though in keeping time they often limp a bit. Much poetic skill has come to light among the converts there, in spite of their seeming illiteracy, showing itself especially in the composition and translation of hymns and songs to fit the stirring music of our Sunday-school and Church hymnals. These hymns have sung their way into the hearts of the people. They had had nothing of the sort before. The Catholic worship, aside from the chanting of a few litanies, has no popular singing. The songs of the people are few, many of them tainted by immoral suggestions and associations. One interesting type of these is a group of wailing, minor chord, two part, love songs, a kind of inheritance, so it is said, from the Moors. These are spoken of usually as *canciones rancheras*—ranch songs—and have no serious claims on popular favor. The songs and hymns of Protestant worship are already widely known and are taking an important place in the life of the people.

The Bible Once More. Another element in the acceptability of evangelical teaching has been the stimulating effect of the Scriptures. Many instances are on record in Mexico of conver-

sions due wholly to the reading of Scripture, often of only a small portion of Scripture. There are two Catholic versions of the Bible in Spanish, but neither is to be had in a convenient and cheap form. There has been a measure of confusion as to which is the best version for use among the evangelical churches. The edition most commonly circulated is known as the Valera Bible, from Cipriano de Valera, who made a recension of an older translation in the sixteenth century. It has been revised to a limited extent, and in recent years an entirely new translation, made by Dr. H. B. Pratt, was brought out by the American Bible Society. There has been a considerable measure of opposition to Bible distribution, stirred up invariably by the priests, who anathematize the "Protestant Bible" as a corrupt book. The convincing answer to this is to exhibit with it a Catholic version. A very slight inspection will show that the two are in all essentials identical. The extent to which the great Bible Societies have laid, in Mexico as elsewhere, the foundation for all missionary work should be more generally recognized. For the separate missions to have provided each for itself the Scriptures needed even in its own work would have been enormously ex-

pensive. Besides, the Bible Societies continually act as pioneers, going into sections not yet occupied, sowing the seed, and preparing the ground for the organized work of some denomination to follow later. All alike are indebted to them and all alike should join heartily in their support.

Ministerial Supply. Evangelistic preaching has been the chief reliance for securing converts to Christianity. The people are fond of oratory, and often exhibit surprising proficiency in public speaking. Missionaries are usually able to master the Spanish language sufficiently to preach to good effect. Other things being equal, however, the exhortations and teaching of a Mexican are more fruitful, by reason of those subtle thought processes peculiar to every people into which the foreigner rarely succeeds in entering, no matter how fluently he may speak the language. There has usually been no lack of volunteers for the ministry among the converts. But the number of young men who are sufficiently devoted to undergo an adequate course of training is small. The ranks are still further depleted when a few years of experience have shown how meager is, and for the present must remain, the stipend which they receive. The congregations can-

not pay a great deal, though most of them could do better than they do, and the missions dare not pay a liberal salary for fear of opening a breach between workingmen and Church leaders, as well as putting a premium on venality. Thus it comes about that many successful young ministers drift into secular pursuits, often at the time when they could be most serviceable. Probably no other single problem besets the missionaries more persistently than this. There is a sense, to be sure, in which these young men are hardly to be blamed. They have usually married, and as their families begin to grow expensive and the problem of educating their children presents itself, it is natural that they should think seriously and even conscientiously upon the question of whether they will remain in mission work or take up some other vocation at perhaps double the income. That a good many of them do violence to their consciences by leaving the ministry is indicated by the fact that after leaving it they do not hold to their Christian integrity. On the other hand, some are quite as loyal to Christ and as faithful in his service as laymen as they were as ministers. It is especially encouraging to observe how generally their children do well. Even when the father has been drawn back

into the world, it is not uncommon for the sons to develop into faithful and valuable Christians. Already a second generation of Protestant Christians has had time to come to maturity in Mexico, and the churches are showing the effects of it. The ablest ministers to-day, the most efficient lay church officers, and many of the ablest and most progressive citizens are men who "from a child have known the Scriptures."

Consolations of Religion. Something should be said also of the consolations which the gospel brings to the individual. The Mexican people as a people are profiting, as we have seen, by the introduction of a spiritual type of Christianity and its effects on public interests. But in few countries are the joys of conscious communion with a saving Christ more profoundly helpful to sorrowing men and women than in Mexico. Life there for the people of the poorer classes, has long been a hard, narrow experience. Hopeless poverty has rested on them for so many generations that it is accepted with fatalistic resignation. Sickness has to be borne in the same way, for there is no medical treatment in reach of most of them. Their religion, real and present as it always is, for they are a devout people, has become a tawdry worship of wooden dolls

TRINITY CHURCH, CHIHUAHUA

McMURTRIE CHAPEL AND MANSE, COYOACAN

and cheap chromos. Of civic consciousness and the sense of freedom they have practically nothing, for ignorance and helplessness have been their portion so long that they know not how to bring themselves to hope for anything better.

The Gospel in Its Element. It is in such an atmosphere as this that the gospel is most at home. To bless and change such condition it was "made and provided." It was the common people who heard Jesus gladly. Publicans and harlots flocked into the Kingdom, even when the doctors of the law held aloof. The gospel gives most to those who need most. The Mexicans rejoice over it as over a pearl of great price. They are sometimes slow to accept its moral demands. They do not know how to organize and conduct a church or even a Sunday-school. They emerge from their poverty and ignorance with painful slowness, often not at all. But in the consolations of the gospel, the joy of sins forgiven, the consciousness of salvation in Christ Jesus, they absolutely revel. It brightens their faces, sets them to singing, lights up their poor homes, and makes more tolerable their poverty and disease. They become heroes and martyrs. More than sixty have laid down their lives for Christ's sake

during these last four decades. It makes them apostles to their kinsmen and neighbors. The churches in Mexico are witnessing churches. By many a lowly bedside our people there bear testimony with their last breath that Jesus Christ is to them wisdom and sanctification and redemption. Missionaries are as careful as possible to avoid making the impression that what they are seeking is converts from Catholicism to Protestantism, and not rather the redemption of men and women from sin. But it is true that exceedingly few who have tasted of the good word of God and the power of the life to come care to go back to the "elements" of their earlier faith. Stories of death-bed repentance for "heresy" may usually be discounted.

A Reformed Romanism. The truth is that the "Church of their fathers" must reestablish its hold upon the Mexicans by other methods than those through which for several centuries it has held undisputed sway. Appeal must now be made to the judgment and moral sense of the people. Mere authority will no longer suffice. The appeal of tawdry trappings and of gorgeous ritual does not win the thoughtful, and the Mexicans are becoming thoughtful. Whatever strength the Roman

A CHRISTIAN FAMILY

TYPICAL RURAL HOME OF A CHRISTIAN FAMILY

Catholic Church shall exhibit in the future—and doubtless it will remain a potent factor in the life of the Mexican people—must be attained largely as Protestantism is seeking to establish its hold, "by pureness, by knowledge, by long-suffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God." To bring back thus into the realm of spiritual vitality the mighty enginery of that efficient and venerable organization is destined to be one of the praiseworthy achievements of Protestant work in Catholic countries.

Influence of Politics. The prevailing political unrest, in spite of its disastrous effects on the economic condition of Mexico, is destined to fall out to the furtherance of the gospel. The struggle is but a continuance of Mexico's long-drawn-out effort to shake herself free of tyrannies, political, industrial, religious. It is profoundly stirring the intellectual life of the people. They are taking lessons as never before in the art of thinking for themselves. They are bound to see that the real cause of this prolonging of their struggle for freedom is in their own ignorance and moral inefficiency. They need education and they need moral stiffening. These are precisely the things for which Protestantism stands.

The boys and girls who have been trained in the evangelical churches and schools are to-day making proof of their training. They are now men and women and they are in the eye of the people. When a really popular government gets on its feet in Mexico, it will be found that the young people trained by the missionaries will be as prominent in it as they are in China under the new order of things. That will mean a new day for evangelical work in Mexico. Conditions to-day, disturbed as they are at the moment of this writing, are no occasion for the withdrawing of our hand. On the contrary, they call loudly for the strengthening of every agency.

Future Possibilities. Schools, churches, hospitals, dispensaries, and other agencies will presently be popular as never before. Indeed, during the worst months of the revolution, mission schools have remained crowded to their capacity. The temporary disabling of much of the public school system makes at once a demand and an opportunity for missionary institutions. That great Republic, destined by its very location and resources to set the type and hold the leadership of all Latin America, is sure to be a field worthy the life devotion of our best and brightest young people.

Some Readjustments Needed. It seems probable that in its details the missionary work in Mexico may have to go through a process of readjustment. Present conditions make the time for that propitious. The problem in brief is to shift the Church organizations from their present basis of dependence on the mission boards of the United States to one of independence and self-support. The period of tutelage has been too long already. No satisfactory progress in the direction of great national Churches can be made by societies which draw their sustenance from imported funds. At all costs the transition must be made. Doubtless it will be costly. It may seem to result in a period of non-progress or even of retrogression. But such a period will be only temporary. The evangelical churches of Mexico have in them too much of vitality to perish thus. Fortunately the missions of related denominations show a ready mind for getting together. One Presbyterian Church and one Methodist Church for the whole nation will be easy of achievement. The churches of congregational government will also doubtless work out their problems harmoniously and with the nation as a unit.

Denominational Coöperation. It would seem that certain forms of denominational coöperation might well be inaugurated. The several churches are even now working together in preparing Spanish editions of the Graded Lessons for Sunday-schools. A number of them might combine to advantage in issuing a religious periodical. There is general discussion also of coöperation in theological education. A seminary representing three or four of the strongest missions working together might have an equipment and a faculty that would at once reduce the expense of this necessary work and do the work more satisfactorily. Such an institution would command public respect in a way not possible to the separate small and poorly equipped training-schools as now maintained. It might even become the nucleus of a great college or university under Christian auspices. Nothing could do more for Mexico than such an institution as that.

Self-support. Meantime the Mexican congregations should be encouraged to undertake as rapidly as possible their own support. With a view to this, a very large measure of autonomy should be allowed them. Church life in every land is bound to work out indigenous forms of organization. The

Churches which send missionaries to Mexico should be more concerned for the Christianizing of the people than for the importation into that country of any special types of church organization and government.

Invitation to the Missionary. Despite the gloomy clouds now overshadowing sunny Mexico, I am sure that it is bound yet to be, as it has been, a most inviting field for the missionary. It is near at hand and easy of access. The climate is healthful. The people are groping for a friendly hand. They need help. To minister to rich and poor alike, to aid in dissipating the thick cloud of ignorance, to bring home the consolations of a living faith to those whose earthly lot, like that of their fathers before them, is hard and comfortless, to help the leaders of the people in developing the intelligence and morality needed for placing on a firm footing government of the people by the people, to take part, in brief, in the making of a great and free and prosperous nation—such is the joyous prospect open to the missionary to Mexico. And while engaged in this enticing task he will live in a land of romance and of entrancing beauty. Fair skies will shine upon him and soft winds will fan his cheek. Wide plains and rugged mountains will stretch

their panorama of gold and purple beauty before his eyes, under a light so silvery and dazzling that to those who have not seen it it cannot be described. A gentle and grateful and affectionate people will surround him, full of spiritual longings and eager for the gospel. Their soft and liquid speech will become to him as his own mother tongue. He will see many sons and daughters born into the kingdom of his Lord, and will hold sweet fellowship with brothers and sisters of his own Father's family. He will minister at the bedside of dying saints as patriarchal and as devout as Abraham and Isaac or as Simeon or Anna or Dorcas. He will train as his own sons the young men who in a coming generation will preach the gospel to their people or take up the burden of teaching its youth or administering its business. He will thus help to lay the foundation of a great nation, rich and strong and proud, a predestined leader in the sisterhood of Spanish American republics. Before another century missionaries will be going out from there to carry the good news in their own beautiful language to other less favored regions where that tongue is spoken, perhaps, even, to the mother country of it beyond the sea.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A[1]

Constitution and Government

Mexico was annexed to the Spanish crown by conquest in 1521, and for three centuries continued to be governed by Spain. In 1810 the rule of the Spanish viceroys had become so tyrannical that it caused an outbreak headed by the patriot priest Hidalgo, who on September 15, 1810, declared the independence of Mexico. In 1821 General Augustin Iturbide declared himself Emperor of Mexico, but in 1824 he had to flee, and the Republic was established. Several Presidents ruled the destinies of this country with more or less severity until 1864, when the throne of Mexico was offered to Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria. He was executed in 1867, and Juarez, who had been President in the northern part of the country, took the reins of government. He was followed by Lerdo de Tejada, who in 1876 fled, and General Porfirio Diaz made his entry into Mexico City. He ruled the country with the exception of 1880-4 (General Manuel Gonzalez) until May, 1911, when he presented his resignation to Congress. Señor F. de la Barra acted as President *ad interim* until the elections had taken place.

The present Constitution of Mexico bears date of February 5, 1857, with subsequent modifications down to May, 1908. By its terms Mexico is declared a federative republic, divided into states—19 at the outset, but at present 27 in number, with three territories and the Federal District —each of which has a right to manage its own local affairs, while the whole are bound together in one body politic by fundamental and constitutional laws. The powers of the supreme government are divided into three branches, the legislative, executive, and judicial. The legislative power is vested in a Congress consisting of a House of Representatives (233 members) and a Senate, and the Executive in a President. Representatives are elected for two years by the suffrage of all respectable male adults, at the rate of one member for 40,000 inhabitants. The qualifications

[1] Appendixes A to D are taken from *Statesman's Year-Book*, 1912.

requisite are, to be twenty-five years of age, and a resident in the state. The Senate consists of fifty-six members, two for each state, of at least thirty years of age, who are returned in the same manner as the deputies. The members of both Houses receive salaries of $3,000 a year. The President is elected by electors popularly chosen in a general election, holds office for six years, and, according to an amendment of the Constitution in 1887, may be elected for consecutive terms. The election of the Vice-President takes place in the same manner and at the same date as that of the President. The Vice-President is *ex officio* President of the Senate, with a voice in the discussions but without vote. Failing the President through absence or otherwise, the Vice-President discharges the functions of the President. Failing both, Congress shall call for new elections to be held at once. Congress has to meet annually from April 1 to May 31, and from September 16 to December 15, and a permanent committee of both Houses sits during the recesses.

President of the Republic.—Señor Don Francisco I. Madero; elected October 14, 1911; inaugurated November 6, 1911; killed February 23, 1913.

General Huerta assumed power, February, 1913.

The administration is carried on, under the direction of the President and a Council, by eight Secretaries of State, heads of the Departments of: 1. Foreign Affairs; 2. Interior; 3. Justice; 4. Public Instruction and Fine Arts; 5. Fomento, Colonization, and Industry; 6. Communications and Public Works; 7. Finances and Public Credit; 8. War and Marine.

Local Government

Each separate state has its own internal constitution, government, and laws; but interstate customs duties are not permitted, though state taxes are levied. Each state has its governor, legislature, and judicial officers popularly elected under rules similar to those of the Federation; and the civil and criminal code in force in the Federal District prevails only in the Federal District and territories (Tepic, Lower California, and Quintana Roo). All the other states of the Mexican Union have their own special codes based, more or less, on those of the Federal District; but at the same time they must publish and enforce laws issued by the federal government.

APPENDIX B

AREA AND POPULATION

States and Territories	Area in Square Miles	Census Population 1910	Census Population 1900	Population Per Square Mile, 1900
Atlantic States				
Tamaulipas	32,128	249,253	218,948	6.8
Vera Cruz	29,201	1,124,368	981,030	33.9
Tabasco	10,072	183,708	159,834	15.8
Campeche	18,087	85,795	86,542	4.7
Yucatan	35,203	337,020	314,087	8.9
Total	124,692	1,980,144	1,760,441	14.1
Inland States				
Chihuahua	87,802	405,265	327,784	3.7
Coahuila	63,569	367,652	296,938	4.6
Nuevo Leon	23,592	368,929	327,937	13.9
Durango	38,009	436,147	370,294	9.8
Zacatecas	24,757	475,863	462,190	18.7
San Luis Potosi	25,316	624,748	575,432	22.7
Aguascalientes	2,950	118,978	102,416	34.7
Guanajuato	11,370	1,075,270	1,061,724	93.4
Querétaro	3,556	243,515	232,389	65.3
Hidalgo	8,917	641,895	605,051	67.8
Mexico	9,247	975,019	934,463	101.1
Federal District	463	719,052	541,516	1169.5
Morelos	2,773	179,814	160,115	58.3
Tlaxcala	1,595	183,805	172,315	108.0
Puebla	12.204	1,092,456	1,021,133	83.7
Total	316,125	7,868,411	7,191,697	22.7
Pacific States				
Lower California (Ter.)	58,328	52,244	47,624	0.8
Sonora	76,900	262,545	221,682	2.8
Sinaloa	33,671	323,499	296,701	8.8
Tepic (Ter.)	11,275	171,337	150,098	13.2
Jalisco	31,846	1,202,802	1,153,891	36.2
Colima	2,272	77,704	65,115	28.6
Michoacan	22,874	991,649	930,033	40.6
Guerrero	24,996	605,437	479,205	19.2
Oaxaca	35,382	1,041,035	948,633	26.8
Chiapas	27,222	436,817	360,799	13.3
	324,768	5,165,070	4,653,781	14.3
Islands	1,420			
Grand Total	767,005	15,063,207	13,605,919	17.7

Chief Census Features

Since 1900 the territory of Quintana Roo has been formed on the southeast coast of Yucatan.

In 1900 there were 6,716,007 males and 6,829,455 females. 19 per cent. are of pure, or nearly pure, white race, 43 per cent. of mixed race, and 38 per cent. of Indian race. Distinctions of race are abolished by the Constitution of 1824. The foreign population in 1900 numbered 57,507:—Spanish, 16,258; United States, 15,265; Guatemalan, 5,804; French, 3,976; British, 2,845; Cuban, 2,721; German, 2,565; Italian, 2,564; Chinese, 2,834.

The chief cities, 1910, are:—Mexico (capital), 470,659; Puebla, 101,214; Guadalajara, 118,799; San Luis Potosi, 82,946; Leon, 63,263; Monterey, 81,006; Pachuca, 38,620; Zacatecas, 25,905; Guanajuato, 35,147; Merida, 61,999; Querétaro, 35,011; Morelia, 39,116; Oaxaca, 37,469; Orizaba, 32,894; Aguascalientes, 44,800; Saltillo, 35,063; Durango, 34,085; Chihuahua, 39,061; Vera Cruz, 29,164; Toluca 31,247; Celaya, 25,565.

APPENDIX C

Religion, Instruction, and Justice

The prevailing religion is the Roman Catholic, but the Church is independent of the state, and there is liberty of all other religions. No ecclesiastical body can acquire landed property. There are 7 archbishops and 23 suffragan bishops. In 1900, 13,533,013 Roman Catholics; 51,795 Protestants; 3,811 of other faiths; 18,640 of no professed faith.

Education is free and compulsory. In 1895, 10,345,899 could neither read nor write; 1,782,822 could read and write; 323,336 could only read; 39,516 unknown. In 1905 elementary schools supported by the Federation and states (exclusive of infant schools), 6,098, by municipalities, 2,985; total, 9,083 schools, of which 4,876 were for boys, 2,458 for girls, and 1,749 mixed; 575,972 enrolled pupils (352,333 boys and 223,639 girls). For secondary instruction the federal and state governments had 34 schools (27 for boys, 3 for girls, and 4 mixed) with 4,231 pupils (3,793 boys and 438 girls). For professional instruction there were 68 institutions and colleges (34 for men, 17 for women, and 17 mixed); they had (1905) 9,327 enrolled students (5,258 men and 4,069 women). Expenditure on

schools $9,836,923.[1] The private, clerical, and association schools numbered 2,499 with 152,917 pupils (81,947 boys and 70,970 girls). In 1912 the system of primary education was more fully extended so as to reach the native population.

In 1904 there were the National Library, with 180,000 volumes, and 138 other public libraries. There were in that year 34 museums for scientific and educational purposes, and 11 meteorological observatories. The number of periodicals published was 459, of which 439 were in Spanish, 12 in English, 5 in Spanish and English, 2 in Italian, 1 in French.

The judicial power, which is entirely distinct from and independent of the executive, consists of the Supreme Court, with 15 judges chosen for a period of six years, three Circuit Courts, with 3 judges, and District Courts, with 32 judges.

The Ordinary, Civil, Criminal, and Correctional Courts are controlled by the Department of Justice and Public Instruction.

APPENDIX D

Production and Industry

Cultivated lands, 30,027,500 acres; pastoral lands, 120,444,200 acres; forest lands, 43,933,200 acres. Agriculture is in a very primitive condition. Agricultural products are maize, cotton, henequen, wheat, coffee, beans; cotton is grown in the Laguna district on the Nazas River, and is dependent on irrigation which is being extended. There is a large output of sugar and molasses, valued at about $12,610,000 annually (crop for 1911-12 estimated at 160,000 tons), and the production of spirits in 1910 was 9,838,000 gallons. There are 1,674 alcohol distilleries. There are many colonies, or agricultural settlements, established either by the government or by companies or persons authorized by the government.

On June 30, 1902, there were in Mexico 5,142,457 head of cattle, 859,217 horses, 334,435 mules, 287,991 asses, 3,424,430 sheep, 4,206,011 goats, and 616,139 pigs, the whole being valued at about $117,000,000.

Mining is carried on in 24 of the 31 States and Territories, nearly all the mines yielding silver either alone or in combination with other ores.

[1] Dollars throughout are Mexican, two of which equal one dollar of the United States.

Mineral products exported in 1908, 1909, and 1910:—

	1908	1909	1910
Gold, kilogrammes	20,156	29,383	31,970
Silver, kilogrammes	2,325,907	2,191,249	2,254,103
Copper and ore, metric tons	118,568	117,484	203,465
Lead and ore	104,057	122,907	125,396
Iron and ore	54		2
Antimony	4,406	4,095	4,375
Zinc ore	43,339	41,267	54,136
Graphite	1,827	1,690	2,722
Marble	1,340	992	1,166
Salt	3,778	5,365	4,429
Asphalt	3,835	5,692	3,691
Sulphur	884	3,352	3,221

Value of mineral output for 1909-10: Gold, $42,636,402; silver, $76,349,122; others, $37,534,551; total, $156,520,075.

The output of coal is estimated at 700,000 tons annually. Opals are mined in Querétaro; output not stated.

There is a Mint at the Capital, and 13 Assay offices (Federal).

Important metallurgical works are carried on at San Luis Potosi, Monterey, Durango, and Aguascalientes.

On June 30, 1910, there were 142 (19 not working) cotton factories, employing 31,963 workmen; spindles 702,874; looms, 25,017; stamping machines, 41. The consumption of cotton in 1909-10 was 34,736,154 kilos; the output of yarn, 2,768,314 kilos, and of cotton piece goods and prints, 13,936,269 pieces. There were 451 tobacco factories, the annual output of which was: 511,573,779 packets of cigarettes, 41,839,416 cheroots, 39,676,294 cigars, 193 packets of snuff, and 75,770 kilos of tobacco. There were 1,674 distilleries giving an output of 39,352,205 litres of spirits of various sorts.

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(**Note on Spanish Pronunciation.**—Vowels: a as in fäther or in what; e as in fete = a in fāte; i as in machine = e in ēquip or ee in feel; o as in hōld or obey; u as in rule = oo in tool.

Consonants as in English, except that g before e and i, and likewise j everywhere, have a strong h sound (slightly guttural); h is always silent; d between vowels has the sound of th in the; ll is like lli in William; qu is usually sounded like k; rr is rolled and r is not (except at the beginning or end of a word, where it is considered to be rr).

Diphthongs are the resultant of the sounds of the two vowels —au is like ow in owl; ai and ay (almost) like i in side; ua like wa, etc.

Accent: All words ending in a vowel or in n or s are accented on the next to the last syllable—penult; all others on the last syllable. Every exception to these two rules is marked. The mark ' always indicates accent in Spanish.)

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